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The Social and Political Thought of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

Clarissa Rodrigues

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This work attempts to evaluate Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's contribution to social and political thought which within its sweep considers both Eastern and Western Theories. Before undertaking this task, it briefly states his metaphysical outlook of Absolute Idealism, his view of man and the relation between the individual and society, which is one of interdependence, and his belief that man has to restructure social institutions to realise the thoughts of the spirit which are those of liberality, understanding and freedom.

Having dealt with the entire gamut of social institutions, the author considers Dr. Radhakrishnan's views on topics which constitute the subject matter of politics, namely, politics and its inseparability from religion and morality; the nature, goals and functions of the State; major ideologies; forms of government with special reference to Indian democracy; the rise of nation-states—their character, importance and dangers; and internationalism as an imperative of the future to avoid war and promote peace.

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THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT OF Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN An Evaluation

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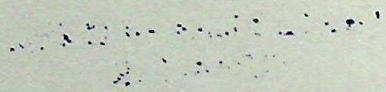

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PREFACE

Philosophy attempts 'to think things through'. Dr. Radhakrishnan has not given a formal exposition of Social Philosophy but a systematic perusal of his writings and speeches provides abundant evidence of his incisive analysis and understanding of various social institutions—their working, strengths and limitations.

In this work an attempt has been made over and above an exposition of his contribution (which one comes across in his speeches and writings) to evaluate his social and political thought on the grounds of consistency, coherency and relevance for our times. This is necessary as Dr. Radhakrishnan has given his views at various times over a span of fifty years.

This involves reviewing his thought in relation to other thinkers for which reference has been made to standard and contemporary works not only in Social, Moral and Political Philosophy but also in Developmental and Welfare Economics, Sociology and Education.

Dr. Radhakrishnan is an inveterate optimist for he believes that despite all the crises that society faces today, man is not sick beyond redemption. This book invites us to share his message of hope and of human recovery.

Whilst the errors are wholly mine, acknowledgements and thanks are due to my guide, Dr. S.G. Mudgal, for his valuable assistance and encouragement, to my friend Joy Antao for all the help she has given me, to Vandana Kamat for preparing the index, to Mary Frances and Marlene Dias for typing the work.

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INTRODUCTION

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, India's well-known philosopher-statesman, has through his works revealed that he was not only concerned with metaphysical questions but was also engrossed with philosophical questions about social relations and values, which constitute the province of social philosophy.

Unlike those for whom philosophy is essentially a matter of linguistic analysis, Radhakrishnan belongs to that group of thinkers who seek to engage themselves with vital questions pertaining to man and the social order. Hence he has reflected critically on social values, on the relation between the individual and society, on the working and significance of major social institutions such as religion, education, family, on the demands of living in a technological society, on the implications that democracy and communism have on society, on the justification for war, on nationalism and internationalism. In grappling with these conflicting problems which are social and human, Radhakrishnan fulfils the task of philosophy, which is to answer 'to deep human needs, to bring order and understanding to common affairs.'[1]

Before discussing his views on what constitutes an ideal society, on the values for which social institutions ought to strive, it becomes necessary to give the gist of his metaphysics, namely, the nature of Ultimate Reality, the self and its destiny, as it is likely to influence his social thought.

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1. Rachels, James & Tillman Frank, *Philosophical Issues - Preface.*

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METAPHYSICS

Radhakrishnan is a proponent of Absolute Idealism according to which Reality is one; it is spiritual and is grasped by intuition. It has two aspects: (a) the Absolute or Transcendent Being, which is indescribable but can be given a positive content by expressing it as Eternal Righteousness, Pure Consciousness and Perfect Freedom; and (b) the Supreme referred to as Isvara or God, viewed in relation to the cosmos. God is Truth, Love, Justice—God's immanence does not conflict with our freedom and man's future is determined by his own conduct, so man is a co-participant with God. When the reign of God is absolute, God recedes into the Absolute. The world is a secondary reality—dependent and real in so far as it is a form of the ultimate. Man should live with a view to the Eternal and use the world as a channel for the realisation of his true self. The Self, whose existence is self-proved, is identical with Ultimate Reality and distinct from the empirical self.

The Self

Man is a trinity of body, mind and spirit. The life of impulse should not be extirpated but used as an instrument for the development of the spirit. Man is an amalgam of dust and deity, a thinking reed who is forever aiming high and doing low. Man must exercise his freedom to be reborn in the spirit (which is the source of all creativity) to realise his status as subject. For the attainment of Ultimate Reality there must be harmony not only between the warring elements of our nature but also with our fellowmen. Though the path to salvation has to be tread alone, salvation is attained by seeking the release of all. It has been observed that in the 'god-man' right knowledge, right desire and right action go together. As Radhakrishnan does not deny meaning to the world, he has dealt with the relation between the individual and society, and the nature and worth of social institutions.

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The Individual and Society

Radhakrishnan recognises that the individual and society are inseparable, interdependent but observes that man's natural sociality is buried when egotism and hatred hold sway. He however stresses that 'social life is a movement in our destiny, not the terminus',[1] that social institutions are worthwhile in so far as they promote man's true development, a view shared by others like Dasgupta,[2] Lajpat Rai.[3] He notes with dismay that in modern society, man's spirit is smothered by social structures and group loyalties. 'By this attitude, truth suffers as much as our intellectual integrity does.'[4] Man should restructure social institutions so that they enable him to realise the truths of the spirit which are those of 'liberality, understanding and freedom'.[5] No sacrifice is too great to attain this goal.[6]

Whilst he gives ascendency to the individual's power of self-determination, he is aware that man cannot ignore his social milieu, of which culture and civilization are basic components.

Culture

For Radhakrishnan, culture is 'the cleansing fire'[7] which can transform man. 'It comprehends the varied expressions of the human spirit.'[8] It is a set of beliefs, norms and values that sustain a society—Indian culture is characterised by resilience, a spirit of assimilation and self-renewal, and aims at the ideals of fearlessness, detachment and non-violence or love.

But Venkatappiah warns that 'tolerance can become passivity; the detachment, indifference, and the loving kindness, sentimentality.'[9]

Although Radhakrishnan began by claiming that 'Hinduism alone can give our civilization a soul',[10] later he realised that it would be more appropriate and in keeping with India's comprehensive and tolerant spirit to speak of Indian Culture rather than Hindu Culture.[11] But he moves towards even wider horizons when he maintains that the qualities used to describe Western and Eastern cultures must not be regarded as exclusive but only as 'a question of the distribution of emphasis'.

Civilization

Radhakrishnan is not very clear about the meaning he assigns to civilization. Civilization is opposed to barbarism, elsewhere in *East and West, Some Reflections* 'it is nothing but a culture that is dead' but in *Religion and Society*,[12] his definition of it is similar to the one he gives

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of culture. In *Kalki* too he explains that 'civilization is within ourselves in our moral conceptions, religions, ideas and social outlook.'[13]

Modern civilization is characterised by belligerency, restlessness, solitariness, moral penury, intellectual lethargy, narrow nationalism, insatiable greed, callousness in spite of the feats attained in medicine, engineering, agriculture and defence. But despite its chaotic state, Radhakrishnan does not think that civilization is doomed. He believes that 'the healing power of time, the resilience of human nature and the mutability of social and political institutions may help us to resolve the present conflicts if we avoid absolutism in creed and conduct and develop the courage to be patient and long suffering'.[14]

Indian civilization is known for its spirit of accommodation, for its philosophy of co-existence or 'this and that' as against 'either/or' which is not something passive but active and educative. Chandra Pratap however points out that 'it may be difficult to distinguish tolerance from an uncanny ability to swallow all kinds of contradictions without batting an eyelid'.[15]

Radhakrishnan is aware that we have lost our spiritual lineage and have to tackle the hydraheaded monster of untouchability, communalism, religious and linguistic differences, economic inequality, superstition and inertia[16] which are impediments to love, harmony and solidarity. He thinks that the new world civilization should combine the best elements of both the West and the East, that is, the intellectual integrity, dynamism, scientific outlook, humanism and scepticism of the West and the spiritual sincerity, mysticism and quietism of the East. These qualities are predominant[17] in but not exclusive to either group for the rational and the spiritual are integral aspects of man's nature.[18] Hence there is need for the East and the West to shed their superiority, their isolationism, to overcome their limitations[19] and pool their talents to create a new world order.

A civilized society is characterised by individual freedom, social justice, political and economic equality, educational opportunities, efforts to safeguard the basic social unit of the family, the dignity of labour and the responsible use of the earth's resources. It necessarily requires that each man should reform himself by practising the five vows of *ahimsa* or non-injury, truthfulness or *satya, asteya* or non-stealing, *brahmacharya* or self-control, *aparigraha* or abstention from greed, and by fighting injustice, religious fanaticism and jingoism.

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Science, philosophy and religion also play an important role in the building of the world order. 'Science reveals identical cosmic elements as the basis of human life. Philosophy visualises a universal consciousness at the back of nature and humanity. Religion refers to our common spiritual struggles and aspirations.'[20]

Dharma

One cannot comprehend Indian civilization without a grasp of the fundamental concept of Dharma. Dharma is that which binds mankind together individually, socially, culturally, and spiritually. It has an individual and social aspect whereby the individual is enabled to attain spiritual perfection and not do anything to others which he would find repugnant. Self-control or *dama*, charity or *dana* and compassion or *daya* are to be practised by all. Although the truths of the Spirit are eternal, rules can change if the need arises or if they are outmoded.[21] 'Though dharma is absolute it has no absolute and timeless content.' The only thing eternal about morality is man's desire for the better. But time and circumstances determine what the 'better' is in each situation.[22] Dharma has its source in Sruti, in Smrti (which is meant to supplement the former) and in the conduct of righteous men.

Radhakrishnan recognises the special dharma which pertains to (a) the stages of life known as the *asrama dharma*, and (b) the *varna dharma* of the classes in society. While Prabhu[23] interprets *asrama* to be a 'halting or resting place' Radhakrishnan maintains that *asrama* comes from a root which means 'to suffer', which corresponds to the view upheld by Pandya.[24]

The stages of life are applicable only to the *dvijas* or the twice born, i.e., to the three uppermost classes—Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, as stated by Radhakrishnan in his work *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (1939) but in the *Heart of Hindusthan*, which is an earlier work (1936), he held that everyone had to pass through studentship or brahmacharya and it is essential that the virtues of temperance, sobriety, chastity and social service be impressed on the young.

Whilst Radhakrishnan has also dealt with the duties expected of the householder or Grihastha (propagation and maintenance of society) and the forest dweller or Vanaprastha (meditation and reflection free from the 'strife of social bonds') he stresses that the Sanyasins are not recluses but have a vital part to play in revitalising social life. What is

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required of the Sanyasin is detachment of mind, not renunciation of the world.

Radhakrishnan thinks that 'every state is necessary and in so far as it is necessary it is good. The blossom does not deny the leaf and the leaf does not deny the stalk, nor the stalk the root. The general rule is that we should pass from stage to stage gradually.'[25] He has not commented on the role of the *asramas* in present-day society. With the exception of Grihastha and, some would add, that of the Sanyasin, the other stages are hardly implemented in Indian society today, though as ideals they still have coherence and may still influence Hindu culture. Several thinkers have been outraged at the distortion of the ideal of Sanyasin into a state of 'charlatans in sadhu's clothing'[26] who get their meals given to them without working and have converted the principle of Nishkama Karma or 'work without desire for fruit' into its opposite Nishkarma Kama which is 'desire for fruit without work'.[27]

Varna

Another category of duties pertaining to the Varnas is discussed by Radhakrishnan in some of his works such as the *Hindu View of Life*, *The Heart of Hindusthan, the Eastern Religions and Western Thought, the Religion and Society*. In most of these works he uses the terms, 'classes', 'castes' and 'orders' interchangeably. Also at times he refers to three classes, at times to four orders or vice versa. It is only in a later work, viz., *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, that he has made a distinction between Class *(Varna)* and Caste *(Jati)*. Was this differentiation an after-thought because of the atrocities inflicted on man by the system? It is in this later work that he admits of the existence of the Candalas or Untouchables (a fact reported in the Jatakas and in the accounts of Fahien).

According to Radhakrishnan, the varnas applied to the stage of the householder and to the *dvijas* or the twice-born, meaning thereby those persons more evolved and reflective than the non-*dvijas*; they alone could be included in the three orders and could gain perfection by resorting to Vedic sacrifices (the initiation ceremony and the study of the Vedas were privileges which were exclusive to these three classes only). Radhakrishnan, as if to cover up the injustice inherent in the principle, holds that every man by virtue of his humanity can attain perfection through other means like knowledge, meditation, fasting and the worship of God. Whilst this may be true, what is worthy of note is

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that the privileges accorded to the *dvijas* could be claimed by them alone and constituted one of the basic features of the Varna Dharma.

Bases of Caste

The various varnas represent members at various levels on the path of self-realisation. The hierarchical set-up exists because of the native differences in man, his karma[28] and the character of his *gunas* of *sattva, rajas* and *tamas* (as stated in the *Heart of Hindusthan*) which represent the qualities of purity, valour and darkness, respectively. Whilst man can certainly scale and reach the heights of the caste hierarchy, Radhakrishnan stresses that this is a gradual process as 'nature cannot be rushed'.[29] If a member from the lower echelons attempts to carry out the functions of a higher caste, before acquiring the necessary capacities 'the social order will be disturbed'.[30]

Whilst Radhakrishnan refers to Saptarsis and Satyakama as those who were accepted as Brahmins (though of low birth) as instances of caste mobility, other thinkers maintain that this 'does not prove the total absence of the hereditary character of the varna'.[31] Kuppuswamy,[32] Beteille[33] and Srinivas[34] are of the view that mobility occurs in *jatis*. Individual mobility, if any, took place 'only if the sub-caste of which he was a member moved upwards or downwards'.[35] Singh holds that traditionally stratification based on caste 'did not permit status mobility on any extensive scale' and that the means of mobility are migration, accumulation of wealth, display of valour, political-economic system.[36] Elsewhere, Radhakrishnan admits that 'caste is treated as hereditary, whatever the theory may be, in practice there is no way by which one can pass from one caste to another'.[37]

Functions of Caste

Radhakrishnan has given an account of the functions of the four varnas where the Brahmins were superior to the other castes as they were custodians of values and devoid of selfish motives. Next in the caste hierarchy were the Kshatriyas who were responsible for maintaining law and order and who alone engaged in warfare, when necessary, without the spirit of vengeance. Below them were the Vaishyas who were entrusted with the commercial and economic transactions of the community and were meant to utilise the wealth so obtained for its well-being. The lowest caste, the Shudras, were inferior to the rest as they were not aware of the ends which their work subserved. According to Radhakrishnan, 'they lapse into a life of indolence and inertia. An

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instructive obedience, a mechanical discharge of duty are their chief contributions'.[38] He has shown how members of the castes performed complementary duties while others like Srinivas[39] maintain that as a matter of actual and historical fact, the varna subsumes values which 'have been competitive if not conflicting'.

Evaluation of Caste

In his assessment of the caste system (with respect to which he quotes Chirol[40]) Radhakrishnan has shown how on account of the tolerant spirit of Hinduism, the caste system achieved an assimilation and civilizing of various races. In its absence there would have been a greater number of depressed classes. With the advent of the Muslims, the Hindus, in order to preserve themselves, 'stereotyped the existing divisions' with the result that some tribes like the untouchables were outside the purview of the caste. So one may ask whether this is 'assimilation'.

According to Srinivas, 'the idea of hierarchy is the price paid for the acceptance of cultural pluralism. There is no idea that one's style of life should be imposed on others—in fact, the opposite idea prevails, that different castes have different styles of life.'[41]

Radhakrishnan thought that the caste provided man with the opportunity to express his nature and to serve society. But could man get the opportunity for self-expression when, as Radhakrishnan himself says, "every man had his place in society and fixed duties were attached to it"?[42] He claimed that owing to the caste system 'unlimited competition of selfish individualism is checked'. This was probably because it was believed that an individual's present status depended on his past karma and 'an escape from the clutches of karma is by the due observance of the duties attached to each state'.[43]

Radhakrishnan maintains that the caste system was democratic as it stressed the spiritual equality of all men, but implicit in his description of the Shudras as being unregenerate or not twice-born is the fact that they are inferior to the *dvijas* or twice-born and, moreover, he thinks that the castes represent different stages of self-realisation. So the Shudra is on the lower rungs of the ladder of self-realisation and his growth in spirituality can take place only gradually or else, as Radhakrishnan himself says, 'the social order would be disturbed'. Moreover, as far as the untouchables were concerned, they were barred entry into temples, had no access to the Vedas and the Sastras, their sole purpose being to render service to the higher castes whilst being treated as unapproachables by them.

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Radhakrishnan thought that the caste system promoted individuality which consists in the 'willing acceptance of obligations'. But the individual is not offered a choice since caste is dependent on birth. Radhakrishnan in commenting on the principles set forth by Manu as determinants of caste (namely, that of '*tapas* or individual effort, *sruti* or the cultural environment and *yoni* or heredity') indicated that of the three, the only practicable test is birth and this is in consonance with the principles of rebirth and karma accepted by the Hindus.[44] As birth assigned the obligations to be carried out according to one's station, so there was no room for the "willing" acceptance of obligations. The individual was subordinated to the group and, as, Beteille[45] explains, traditional culture did not treat the individual as the unit of social and cultural activity.

Another advantage that Radhakrishnan states is that the caste system was important from the economic standpoint since all work was considered to be socially useful. Even if this was so, it is odd that in spite of this aspect of our cultural legacy, we Indians still have the reputation of being allergic to manual work—work that was traditionally done by the Shudras and the Untouchables!

Radhakrishnan also claims that the caste system was democratic because it implemented 'social justice'[46] not as a scheme of rights but one of opportunities and 'there was no attempt to equalise capacities or level up the requirements'. While the latter is true, and the caste system was based on the differentiation of functions, yet one can hardly say that the caste system could be regarded as a 'scheme of opportunities'. It was rather 'a scheme of duties' assigned to the individual, which was largely based on birth and training, as Radhakrishnan himself has admitted.

Another merit mentioned by Radhakrishnan in support of the caste system is that it was based 'on consideration for others'. However, as he himself points out (and this is corroborated by Nehru)[47] the Aryans (Vedic) started their life in India with a rigid and narrow outlook, regarding themselves as a sort of chosen people. Hence, they wished to keep their distance from the non-Aryans. O'Malley points out that everything was done to safeguard the interests of the higher castes who could, if the need arose, undertake the work that normally should have been done by a lower class but the lower 'could not encroach on the preserves of a higher one'.[48] Hence, the consideration, if any, was to protect the higher cadre of castes rather than the lower ones.

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Whilst Radharkrishnan is one of the few social thinkers who (at least initially) adduced so many reasons for the democratic character of caste, there are several others who maintain that the caste system was far from being democratic 'as democracy is based on equality and caste is based on inequality of birth'.[49] Most of them are of the opinion that respect for the dignity of the individual person, and social equality were relatively unknown in traditional society and are typically modern. So the 'social order of the Hindus was not founded upon the comparatively modern democratic principle of equality, but upon the conception of a social hierarchy based upon caste and sanctioned by religion'.[50] The caste is regarded as 'the prototype of rigid social inequality'.[51]

It is perhaps because of his growing awareness of caste as 'an organisation of inequality exclusively on the basis of inheritance'[52] that made Radhakrishnan differentiate between *varna* (class) and *jati* (caste).[53] It is significant to reiterate that this is a distinction that he makes in a later work, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought*, where he contends that when birth became the sole determinant of class, it degenerated into caste.

Wadia has questioned Radhakrishnan's contention that caste is a degenerate form of class by means of the assertions made by Radhakrishnan himself. (a) Radhakrishnan affirms that the mobility of caste in the Vedic era was lost at the time of the Brahmanas when the classes became 'rigid groups dependent on birth'. (b) He also tells us in *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* that the rigidity of caste was already firmly established by the time of Manu and the Puranas. 'What has characterised Hinduism for weal or for woe during the last 2,500 years, long before the days of the Muslim, or the European invasions of India, has a right to be called really Hindu social organisation with its endogamy and commensal restrictions.'[54]

But in an earlier work, *The Heart of Hindusthan*, Radhakrishnan gives a different account for the rise of caste. He explains that with the arrival of the invaders 'the Hindu felt nervous and as a sheer act of preservation stereotyped the existing divisions and some tribes were left outside the pale of the caste order'.[55] Whilst this may explain the origin of untouchability, it is inconsistent with a feature of Indian culture which Radhakrishnan has often stated, namely, the assimilative[56] character of Hinduism which makes India a unity rich in diversity and reveals caste not to be a distortion of class but rather a mechanism of defence.

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Radhakrishnan's account of the caste system is comprehensive for he tells us that 'though idealistic in its origin, beneficient in large tracts of its history—it has grown out of harmony with our present conditions, owing to arrested development and lack of elasticity'.[57]

Radhakrishnan is aware of the atrocities that the adherents of caste have perpetrated on their fellowmen. He avers that caste has given rise to a 'sense of false pride', and humiliated those of the lower classes;[58] it has been a divisive force, the source of great injustice, inequality, jealousy, greed and fear; it has stressed privileges rather than duties and it has suppressed individuality.

He is however conservative in respect of the endogamous character of caste. He considers caste to be a blot on Hinduism and holds that it should be stripped of its false religious trappings. It is necessary to distinguish between universal religious truths and social regulations, which can change from age to age. He exhorts us to relive the original principle of dharma, namely, that 'character is the only patent of nobility', that we are all born unregenerate but that we can become regenerate by our own effort. He belongs to that class of thinkers who 'call for changes in the cultural practices and values of Hinduism on the pattern of the primordial tradition of the Vedas'.[59]

Radhakrishnan does acknowledge the liberalising influence of Western civilization in awakening social conscience and in breaking down caste barriers. He thinks that caste has been greatly responsible for undermining the social order by degrading humanity and today it has no justification whatsoever. So we must rid ourselves of institutions like caste which are stifling our growth for 'true progress is an organic thing like the growth of the tree. We must cut out the dead wood and cast away the withered past'.[60]

He is aware that caste still persists in politics, in administration, in securing employment and that mere legislative enactments cannot eradicate untouchability, that the caste system can be eliminated only when men shed their caste loyalties and prejudices. He is conscious of the fact that we cannot denounce apartheid when we ourselves are unjust to our countrymen, so we must bridge the gap between what we preach and what we practise.

Despite the contradictions noted in his treatment of caste, in Radhakrishnan we find evidence of the hallmarks of a true philosopher, namely, intellectual integrity (for his fearless castigation of an

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institution which he considered significant and vigorously defended) and humility. So he tells us that even if temples, schools, hostels, etc., are thrown open to the Harijans, it must be done not condescendingly and grudgingly, but in a spirit of atonement.

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2

RELIGION

Introduction

If one casts a glance at the titles (not that a book is to be judged solely by its title) of several books that Radhakrishnan has to his credit, namely, *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy, The Hindu View of Life, The Religion We Need, East and West in Religion, Eastern Religions and Western Thought, The Bhagvadgita, Dhammapada, Gautama—The Buddha,* it would not be an exaggeration to refer to him as a 'religion-intoxicated' man.

Radhakrishnan thinks that an individual's philosophy generally stems from his religious values and he considers religion to be the lifeblood of civilization,[1] so it is not surprising that he has reflected on its nature, origin, its present status and future role.

The Decline of Religion

According to Radhakrishnan the decline of religion can be attributed to certain internal and external factors. One of the major internal factors that he thinks has led to the wane of religion is the stress on truth as being exclusive to a particular faith and insistence on dogmas. There is no room for spiritual monopoly, for all truth about God has its source in God and we cannot act as if we know all about God. Moreover, 'we have no right to destroy what we have not learned to appreciate'. This doctrine militates against God's love and justice, cuts mystery to size,[2] leads to theological imperialism and blind submission to religious authority.

The majority in every religious community wish to have the comforts of religion without the discomfort of thinking and are resorting to blind faith.[3] Being sectarian in character it breeds rivalry, hatred, fanaticism and has led to wars of persecution.

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Whilst Radhakrishnan abjures the exclusivist spirit of religion because it fosters separatist tendencies and an attitude of hostility, he nevertheless is in favour of preserving the exclusive character of each religion so that all souls are not 'driven to one spiritual enclosure'.

If religion no longer rides the crest of the wave it is because of our failure to live the spiritual life[4] though he also thinks that 'belief and behaviour go together'. "If we believe in blood, race and soil, our world will be filled with Belsems and Buchenwalds—If we believe in universal spiritual values, peace and understanding will grow".[5]

Other factors for the decline of religion are poor religious leadership and indifference to the problems and woes of mankind. 'On the supreme issues of peace, war, religions have been hesitant and complacent, if not militant and reactionary.'[6] Hence the charge of other-worldliness, of quietism, has been levelled against religion.

He also thinks that hitherto men have been far too concerned with the external trappings of religion, with obscure rites and rituals, magical mantras, oppressive regulations and these have proved to be an obstacle to social renewal.

Creed, code and cult are the essential elements of every religion. It is only when they are abused that we have a religion that is 'ethically repugnant, content with metaphysical subtleties, academic abstractions, dogmatic conformity, ceremonial piety and group loyalties'.[7]

The external factors that have led to the eclipse of religion are developments in science, philosophy and the general temper of the age.

On account of its stress on accuracy, objectivity and tentativeness, science has helped religion to rid itself of some of its superstitions, taboos and myths. Science demands that religious beliefs should not be foisted dogmatically on the adherents but 'should be supported by reason'.[8] But we must refrain from the two extravagances that Pascal warned us about, namely, 'to exclude reason, to admit only reason'.

Radhakrishnan is aware that science has helped man to gain increasing control over nature. Men worship at the laboratory rather than at the altar. The world is shorn of mystery and religion is transformed into a messianic materialism and 'every scientific advance limits the areas where God is supposed to operate.'[9] But Radhakrishnan does not regard science as a panacea for man's problems. Moreover, he opines that 'even with reference to physical nature, scientific

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knowledge does not give us inner truth. The measurable aspects are not the only ones'.[10] So whilst the positivist approach 'liberates us from religious obscurantism, it should not become a scientific obscurantism which distorts science itself by imposing on it wrong ideas of exactitude and verification'.[11]

Science has to admit the fact of religious consciousness even though words are inadequate to express the datum of spiritual experience, for it is something that is primary and positive and it has to accept disciplined intuition as a source of knowledge. 'Science is something that is incomplete and looks forward to something beyond itself'.[12] Einstein and Whitehead[13] are among those who share this view. Science restricts itself to an explanation of secondary causes but is silent on ultimate questions[14] pertaining to man's destiny and the significance of his life. Science and religion are not opposed to each other, a view also shared by Joad.[15] Radhakrishnan agrees with Tennant[16] that both science and religion need faith, as proof is not possible in every case. The achievements of science bear witness to the spirit in man and science, properly understood, is spiritual in its temper and leadings. Both science and religion should not lead to destruction or, as Radhakrishnan adroitly remarks, 'Religion should not end in wars and inquisitions nor science in Hiroshimas and Nagasakis.'[17] Both can profit from each other. Science widens and deepens our concept of God and religion prevents science from going astray.

Philosophy too has awakened religion from its dogmatic slumber and has had a cleansing and invigorating effect on religion for its appraisal of superstitions and sophisms makes one realise that 'only reasoned faith can give coherence to life and thought',[18] and that faith is sustained by inquiry. Whilst stressing that 'faith cannot be irrational', Radhakrishnan also takes pains to indicate that 'reason is not wholly devoid of faith'[19] and that the illumination of the mind and purification of the heart cannot be separated in the spiritual experience. He admits that religious faith reveals an aspect of human nature that is deeper than the intellect, so while 'philosophy is the love of wisdom, religion is the wisdom of love'.[20] In the ultimate analysis true philosophy will give rise to true religion as faith and reason are not incompatible with each other.[21] Life is the testing ground for our philosophical convictions which, if truly lived, are not different from our religious vocation.

The decline and ferment in religion are also due partly to the spirit of the age. It is an Age of Science which has sought to purge religion of

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its irrationality and provincialism (based on doctrines of chosen people, of its reliance on an infallible book or church). It is an age of the enthronement of Reason, which has led to the denial of the Ultimate, an Age of Incoherence in thought and action, an Age of Anxiety where men, devoid of a religious outlook, do not know how to meet life's challenges, hence scepticism prevails. Radhakrishnan agrees with Santayana that 'scepticism, which is said to be the chastity of the intellect, riddles the faith of yesterday and prepares us for the faith of tomorrow.'[22] Ours is an Age of Transition when we witness the breakdown of traditional modes of conduct and belief. It is, above all, an Age of Criticism and Self-reflection, when religions have become aware of their limitations and are trying to overcome them.

Current Responses to Religion

In view of this panoramic portrayal of our times it is not surprising that man's responses to religion are equally variegated. Some, dissatisfied with conventional religion, are indifferent to it. Others are agnostics who are silent on God because they acknowledge that the Absolute is incomprehensible. For Radhakrishnan, the atheist is one who 'denies an idea of God but not God himself' and neither agnosticism nor atheism signify irreligious behaviour and outlook. He remarks, "Many atheists who say they do not believe in God act as if they did and there are many religious people who say they believe in God and act as if they did not. So militant atheism is an answer to dishonest religion."[23] Some have responded to their spiritual homelessness by regressing to the level of bestiality, pursuing pleasure and worshipping Mammon.

Others, displeased with the other-worldliness of religion and the segregation of the sacred from the secular, have turned to humanism, to communism, to nationalism. Humanism, as the name indicates, is concerned solely with man's interests.[24] Humanism as a religion is deficient because it 'overlooks the immortal longings, the intimations of sanctity, the hunger and thirst for holiness, the readiness to suffer persecution and martyrdom'.[25] Radhakrishnan warns that a self-sufficient humanism can lead to an 'acquiescence in the merely practicable' but material prosperity, and social service cannot make for happiness unless the latter is done in a self-sacrificing spirit. Contemplation or meditation on the Absolute provides inspiration and strength for altruistic service.[26] Russell too acknowledges that 'if life is to be fully human it must serve some end, which seems, in some sense, outside human life, some end which is impersonal and above mankind, such as God, truth or beauty'.[27]

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According to Radhakrishnan, communism may be regarded as a heresy in Christianity which protests against Christian orthodoxy but which upholds Christian truth and principles. It has sought to bring about a more equitable and just society by means of ruthless force, which is something which religion abhors, and it has reduced men to marionettes.

Some have found a makeshift for religion in nationalism, wherein the nation itself is deified and the political community becomes the centre of value and allegiance for which no sacrifice is too great. Whilst religion is catholic in spirit, nationalism which indulges in the exaltation of a group 'reduces God to an attribute of nationality.'

Among believers there are the conservatives who find safety in following the beaten track and such faith is merely skin deep. There are revivalists (to which category Radhakrishnan belongs) who think that religion can regain its pristine glory if it is true to its mission of uniting man to God and his fellowmen by recasting or reviewing conventional religion.

True Religion

True religion, according to Radhakrishnan, is the religion of the spirit. It is a quest for self-realisation,[28] ('an awakening of the light that is within him'), 'an inner personal experience, an individual relation with the Divine. It is not worship but a way of becoming, of liberation'.[29] Hence, man has to discipline himself by practising both the dynamic virtues such as love, compassion, justice, righteousness, honesty and the quietist virtues such as those of renunciation, austerity, contemplation and prayer. While love[30] manifests itself in compassion and service, contemplation[31] prepares the human candle to receive the divine flame and the mystery of life is creative sacrifice. It is the fearlessness and the persistence of suffering rebels that keeps the beacon of truth burning steadily, for religion is not the mere contemplation of truth but suffering for it.

Radhakrishnan upholds the value of asceticism which stands for renunciation of worldly goods, the control of one's desires but it should not lead to social quietism or else the ascetics are comparable to 'cut flowers in metal vases', beautiful to behold but which soon fade for lack of nourishment from the soil. Hence he advocates that a life of contemplation and withdrawal must be accompanied by 'an identification with the current of life, a participation in creative advance

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wherein mankind is lifted to a higher level'.[32] Note must also be taken that 'the things of Caesar are related to the things of God'. Hence the ascetic cannot just withdraw from the world altogether nor can he shun his obligation of being his brother's keeper for no man can attain the final goal unless all are saved. This is consistent with his doctrine of *sarvamukti*.

For Radhakrishnan, Religion is not just an intellectual conviction, nor is it merely an ecstatic feeling or social service. It embraces the whole of man's being. Religion as the experience of Reality is a 'movement of the whole self to the daily challenge of actual human relations, not belief in a set of propositions'.[33]

Religion is not an opiate for 'it is not a way out of life but a way into life'.[34] 'It is not an academic discipline but a mystery to be lived.'[35] True religion is not legalistic, so Radhakrishnan condemns mere externalism and does not insist on obedience to laws and ordinances. He thinks that a distinction must also be made between eternal truths and accidental accretions. His is not a religion concerned with theological abstractions, religious doctrines and creeds[36] but with the religious life.

It does not engage in proselytism as it is like severing a man from his religious habitat and making him feel like a fish out of water. This is not wise, for 'religion is like the string of a violin, which, if removed from its resonant body, will give the wrong tone, if any'.[37] Radhakrishnan is opposed to proselytism because the kernel of truth of every religion is universal and changeless. Besides, it is a direct affront to another person's religious convictions. He is in favour of anyone who tries to get people to relive the faith in which they were born by remedying its defects rather than converting them into another faith, so 'one can change the life while retaining the labels like Hinduism and Buddhism'.[38]

True religion is based on the belief of the invincible divinity of man, the potentiality to overcome the warring elements in our nature, and the solidarity of all men in the life of God. True religion is universal and not parochial. Radhakrishnan quotes St. Ambrose who said that 'every truth by whomsoever it is spoken is of the Holy Spirit'. Religion can serve as a basis for the world order if it brings together the divine revelation in nature and history with the inner revelation in the life of the spirit. The inner revelation is arrived at not by doctrinal knowledge or on the basis of authority but by austerity and contemplation.

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According to Radhakrishnan, true religion is characterised by a reconciling spirit in that it is compatible not only with the spirit of science and the ethics of humanism but also with the universality of the ultimate truths proclaimed by various faiths. It assimilates whatever is valuable in them. It does not consider itself to have a monopoly in truth and is open-ended, self-critical and has a note of revolutionary challenge. It is creative in outlook and approach, not choked by creeds, ceremonial piety, superstitious habits. Spiritual religion transcends ecclesiastical organisations and doctrinal sophistries. Radhakrishnan thinks that a regimented mind is ill-suited for spiritual purposes. Spiritual religion or Religion of the Spirit[39] signifies an atmosphere of freedom, growth of the divine in man which is visible in the love and service of man. Radhakrishnan holds that the 'practice of the presence of God is the highest religion'. He thinks that religion is experience which can be obtained by intuition which surpasses but does not contradict reason. Any attempt to make religion solely rational would be to misconceive its essential character.[40]

Religious experience may be characterised as infallible, indubitable, primary, unique, an intuited fact apprehended by man's total being wherein he participates in the mystery of Being and this witness to the experience of the Divine is not confined to any particular age or place but is universal[41] and provides by far the most conclusive proof for the reality of God. All true religion is highly mystical but Radhakrishnan considers ecstasy to be of secondary importance to the spiritual mystic who, he thinks, should engage in both contemplation and service for he is a person who lives on the frontier of the sacred and the secular.

Difficulties in Interpretation

Radhakrishnan makes certain anomalous statements on the subject which reveal discrepancies in thought and which can make for difficulties in interpretation. Whilst the frequency with which he argues a certain point can help interpretation, the difficulty arises when ambivalent views are given equal weightage.

Radhakrishnan regards religion as 'more of a transforming experience than a notion of God'. Hick[42] points out that this is a view that is prevalent today. But Radhakrishnan also maintains that in mystical religion, which is a basic aspect of his Religion of the Spirit, 'God is not a logical abstraction but a Real Presence', so he defines Religion both with and without God. Similarly, while he considers a

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denial of an individual's desires as part of the religious life, he also concedes physical happiness as a sacred aim. The same stance is also seen when, on the one hand, he thinks that individuals should not be deprived of the individual comforts from their religion but, on the other hand, condemns religion for being a palliative.

In his works Radhakrishnan has fiercely denounced dogmatic creeds and infallible beliefs yet he acknowledges that 'beliefs are the codified expressions of experience.' Whilst he is right in his condemnation of the excessive rigidity of some faiths he has gone to the other extreme of stressing that true religion is free from creeds—which is a feature of Neo-Hinduism and of some renascent movements.[43] A close scrutiny of his concept of religion or Religion of the Spirit also has certain tenets such as the equality of all religions, insistence on tolerance and mystical experience.

In stressing the importance of the environmental factor of religion and in repudiating proselytism, Radhakrishnan maintains that to sever a man from his religious ethos is like trying to 'separate gold from the rock in which it is embedded'. In respect to one's approach to men of other faiths, he thinks that to love one's neighbour is not to compel him to share our opinions but 'to renounce one's own standards and see with the other man's eyes, feel with his heart and understand with his mind'.[44] One may ask whether it is not possible to gain an empathic understanding without renouncing one's standards since, according to Radhakrishnan himself, there is a common core underlying all religions.

Whilst Radhakrishnan is fully justified in decrying forced conversions, which certainly infringe on another person's liberty, yet there is no reason why a person who does not find his faith to be authentic enough should not be at liberty to renounce his faith if he chooses to do so. After all, Radhakrishnan himself acknowledges that a man's faith is partly determined by his own reactions, thought and response to his religious legacy. His statement that severing a person from his religion is like trying to separate gold from the rock implies that all conversions are forced.

Another ambivalence which has been observed is that by journeying inward into ourselves by meditation and by adhering to the path of righteousness we come to know ourselves and this is 'all we can know and all we need to know' but, at the same time, Radhakrishnan says that we need discipline and training to realise the 'other' or

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supreme. Similarly, he stresses the necessity of bringing about a harmony of religions without destroying their identity and, at the same time, he does not rule out an assimilation of faiths.

There are some explanations that are possible for these ambiguities, one of them being that with Santayana, Radhakrishnan thinks that 'we need to find a way back to the living spirit which combines opposites'.[45] Another reason perhaps is that his Spiritual Religion has much in common with Neo-Hinduism, or Hinduism which is characterised by elasticity and amorphousness on account of its variegated nature. Others have also given expression to the kaleidoscopic and heterogeneous character of Hinduism.[46]

Even though reasons for the ambiguities have been explored attention must be drawn to the criticisms that have been made of the Religion of the Spirit. In stressing that it is essentially mystical, not creedal, Radhakrishnan seems to forget that even mystic religions can never be utterly devoid of all creeds—as the maintaining of no creeds is itself a creed, nor are creedal religions bereft of mystical experience—Radhakrishnan himself maintains that the core of mysticism is the same in all religions.[47] Some have held that besides being vague, 'it smacks of spiritual gnosticism and ethereal spirituality, it gives a restricted elite a sense of spirituality and superiority while it contains nothing that ordinary people can put into practice'.[48] Basham points out that while one should not disparage the Hinduism of the intellectual and the mystic propounded by Radhakrishnan, one must not lose sight of the other Hinduism, the Hinduism of the artist and poet; with its rich mythology and legend, the Hinduism of the simple man, with its faith, its ritual, its temples, and its sacred images. Both are part of India's heritage, and it is impossible to pronounce objectively on their relative merits or importance, but there is a little doubt which has more strongly affected the majority of the inhabitants.[49]

The influence of Hinduism on Radhakrishnan's concept of Spiritual Religion is visible not only in the emphasis he gives to religion as a way of life and experience, but also in his stress on contemplation, tolerance, the basic equality of all religions and on religion being more a way of life than a form of thought. The other area of influence on Spiritual Religion is that Hinduism enjoins absolute liberty in thought but a strict code of practice. This has been attested to by several thinkers, both past and present,[50] and has posed a problem for social reform.

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But Radhakrishnan's notion of true religion also reveals his understanding and appreciation of other faiths, especially Christianity. His works are replete with quotes from the *Bible*, especially the *Gospels* and St. Paul's epistles.[51] He has been greatly influenced by Christianity in rejecting quietism for he constantly reiterates that the mystical basis of Hinduism is to be vitally linked with active involvement in the world's problems. Being in the vanguard of renascent Hinduism, he attempted to free Hinduism from its obsession with ceremonies, rites and by no means can these be a substitute for service to man. He also thinks that, like Christianity, every living and dynamic religion should renew itself and give the age what it needs.

Radhakrishnan is aware that some have become disillusioned with religion because of its chaotic state. But he thinks that 'we are not sick beyond redemption' and that from the turmoil there will emerge a more refined and mature religion. His optimism is also shared by Newman who thinks that 'the optimistic bias is a necessary condition of life'.[52] Radhakrishnan's optimism is not ill-founded. It is based on the grounds that (a) man is by nature[53] religious, so 'we could not implant religion any more than we could squeeze blood from stone', (b) the history of mankind amply bears out that religion is vital both to the individual and society despite its many abuses.

Man's Need for Religion

Religion is indispensable to man as it satisfies man's basic need of worship, of his compelling and perennial need to encounter and come to terms with the Unseen. It helps man to fulfil his responsibilities and above all makes life meaningful, for, as Nietzsche pointed out, 'man can endure any how if he has a why'. He believes that the need for faith is natural and inescapable as it is the breath of life and man clings to faith no matter how ill conceived it may be. So he remarks, 'The age of faith is always with us, only the object of our faith changes.'[54] Man therefore seeks substitutes for religion by worshipping science, humanity, wealth, nationalism, creeds like communism and so on.

Religion is of immeasurable value to the individual as it serves as a bridle to control man's nature. Man's communion with the Divine in prayer replenishes him and helps him bear his trials with fortitude and hope.[55] It awakens man to his spiritual penury and pride and calls for an attitude of humility. It helps us to cure ourselves of our self-centredness and makes us aware that true love of God means a love of one's

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neighbour and it ought to lift us from the vale of isolation to a life of unselfish love.

On the social plane, religion is meant to perform equally stupendous tasks. Radhakrishnan is aware that a number of customs, institutions associated with Hindu dharma like Sati, animal sacrifice, female infanticide, the Devadasi system and untouchability are oppressive and should be abolished. So religion 'must express itself in reasonable thought, fruitful action and right social institutions.' Some religious leaders and 'discontented rebels with the world of shams' have played an important part in refurbishing the social fabric and the greatest task of religion is the promotion of spiritual values. Radhakrishnan stresses that in serving suffering humanity we must not forget our spiritual moorings or the source from which altruism is derived. It binds men in a fellowship by giving them a spiritual outlook and in the past it has proved to be a great cohesive force in society.[56] Nor can one ignore the creativity which results from religious endeavours. This applies not only to art, music, literature or culture but to the avid and persistent interest that man has taken in pursuing truth, goodness and beauty. 'Any serious pursuit of ideas, any search after conviction, any adventure after virtue, arises from resources whose name is religion'.[57]

So religion in its true spirit is the main spring of both the individual and social life and is not doomed to die. The religious upheaval that has occurred only presages a resurrection provided that man chooses 'to co-operate in a spirit of freedom and understanding rather than conflict in an atmosphere of fear, suspicion and jealousy'.[58] So all religions should be viewed with 'serenity and sympathy'. Radhakrishnan thinks that the religion of the future which is experiential must have a double direction—'towards the timeless in adoration, towards the temporal in service'.

Suggestions for Religious Harmony

Radhakrishnan makes a plea for the founding of a 'Church of the Spirit', a term used by Joaquim de Fiore who said that 'All those who love God and their neighbour belong to this Universal Church'.[59] The universal religion that Radhakrishnan advocates is not syncretist in nature but seeks to preserve the identity and uniqueness of all religions. So no single religion by itself can be the basis for the spiritual unity of mankind but the goal should be to work for the Fellowship of Faiths,

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which he thinks is possible because religions today are less intransigent than before.[60] Whilst some rule out all possibility of a Universal Religion,[61] others think that more emphasis should be paid to the distinctive contribution of religions;[62] yet others suggest syncretism[63] and others abhor it.[64] Radhakrishnan has given least emphasis to the last two alternatives. He is not in favour of a fusion of faiths into a synthetic creed[65] for the religions of the world, like the fingers of the hand or the voices in a *Fugue*, provide us with a rich diversity and spiritual inheritance. Moreover, there can only be a dialogue if there is a diversity of faiths and dialogue makes for humility, charity, repentance. It helps to shed arrogance and snobbery, leads to mutual respect[66] and helps us to interpret religion at its best. But Radhakrishnan thinks that to stress religious diversity at the cost and neglect of spiritual unity would be 'philosophically unjustifiable, morally indefensible and socially dangerous'. The unity that he envisages is not just an intellectual acceptance of a 'fundamental unity with a free differentiation' but is essentially a unity of heart and spirit.[67]

Hence Radhakrishnan speaks not only of a unity in diversity but also of a diversity that unites. While he takes note of diversity he entertains the 'dream of a world society with a universal religion of which the historical faiths are but branches'.[68]

The bases for fellowship are that (a) virtuous conduct is not the prerogative of the members of a particular faith; (b) God is impartial and accepts all righteous men; (c) He has not left us without a witness; (d) there are several paths to the spiritual summit where all religions converge, which indicates that all religions are equally true, that religions are not rivals but fellow travellers. As one Indian mystic puts it, 'there may be different kinds of oil in different lamps, the wick also may be of different kinds but when they burn we have the same flame and illumination';[69] (e) besides, the love of man which, in a sense, is a counterpart of the love of God, requires that we understand and try to appreciate faiths other than our own.

Radhakrishnan thinks that in today's destructive world, religion is man's hope for survival and an instrument for peace. Hence religious harmony can pave the way for social harmony, and the direction for it lies in highlighting the common elements of all religions and working for a fellowship of faiths, in adopting an attitude of tolerance, in promoting an interest and understanding of comparative religions and in the influence wielded on humanity by religious leaders.

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The common elements which Radhakrishnan thinks can make men more conscious of the transcendent unity underlying the empirical diversity of religions are: (a) all religions testify to the divine possibilities inherent in man; (b) to realise them we have to wrestle with the forces of waywardness within us; (c) God does not withhold His truth, His love and His grace from anyone; (d) religious experience is universal; (e) all religions uphold virtuous conduct;[70] (f) all of them stress the importance and significance of prayer[71] wherein mankind seeks God and which is also proof of the universal revelation of God. There are striking similarities between the common elements that have been stressed by him and others.[72]

Tolerance

Radhakrishnan advocates tolerance as a necessary ingredient for a fellowship of faiths. Like Durant[73] and others,[74] Radhakrishnan thinks that in this respect India has a lot to teach the world for she has had a long history and tradition of tolerance. It is because of exclusive creeds and men thinking that they know all about the Supreme that they become intolerant and, as a result, conceited. Hence 'tolerance is the homage which the finite mind pays to the inexhaustibility of the Infinite'. 'Tolerance is not to be equated with pity, with condescension, not the abandonment and indifference to truth. But it is co-existence which is to be manifested in love which culminates in brotherhood, and appreciation of other faiths. He is aware that tolerance may make demands which are contrary to reason and to conscience.'[75]

Radhakrishnan's adamance on tolerance may be criticised on the ground that 'those who protest too much about the truth of their dogma are more likely to sow doubt than belief in the minds of their hearers'.[76] Besides, though he is tolerant, he is intolerant of all creeds though equality of religious tolerance and mystical experience are indirectly the 'dogmas' of his religion.[77]

Whilst Radhakrishnan is entitled to retain his own beliefs Congar[78] thinks that it is only a step from 'one religion is as good as another' to 'no religion demands our adhesion' and from that to 'one can reject them all and have one's own'.

Although India has on the whole been noted for her tolerance in the past, some have warned that we should not try to bask in the reflected glory of the past Golden Age.[79]

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Secularism

Secularism as adopted by Indians is a modern name for the religious tolerance practised in the country. Secularism does not mean the denial and rejection of the Supreme. It involves 'a recognition of spiritual realities not by abstention from the world, but by bringing to its life, its business (*artha*) and its pleasure (*kama*), the controlling power of spiritual faith'.[80] It does not mean the worship of a crass materialism. It signifies that the society and the state promote and encourage the co-existence, cooperation and mutual respect for religions. Brunton however points out that while the 'secular state provides a framework for an inter religious dialogue, it does not provide the solution to the problem of and the relation between religions'.[81]

Radhakrishnan has not discussed the problems of secularism, the difficulty of implementing the principle of state-religion separation, the presence of religious tensions and traces of religious fanaticism. These problems are largely due to the fact that no religion is without bigots and Indian religions are no exception. It is however creditable that whilst the secular states of the West do not permit either non-Christian or non-Catholic or both (the US and Britain respectively) to be the head of state, India, with its rich diversity of faiths, is perhaps the only country which has in its annals non-Hindus for its President and Vice President. The same tradition has also been followed in the judiciary. This is tangible evidence that secularism has taken firm root in Indian soil.

Comparative Religion

Comparative Religion helps to gain an enriched understanding of faiths as it has brought out the similarities between religions such as mysticism, asceticism, sacrifice and prayer and has shown that 'the human spirit feels after the same spiritual reality and is in some manner acted upon by it'.[82] It throws light on the growth of religious consciousness and helps to break down the barriers of exclusivism which results in hostility and brings about tolerance which does not smack of 'a conscious superiority, condescending charity' and patronizing pity.

Radhakrishnan's own study of religions has helped to appreciate the assets and be aware of the limitations of Western and Eastern religions. He thinks that Eastern religions are superior to the Western ones in being non-dogmatic and spiritually well-mannered for 'they do not condemn the good simply because it is not the best'. They lay more

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emphasis on contemplation, on the development of the inner life and spiritual culture than on scholastic learning. But, on the debit side, they reveal the tendency to 'other-worldliness' and are concerned mainly with the salvation of the individual soul than the redemption of the social order.

Western religions, on the other hand, have emphasized theological dogmatism, and looked with disdain on other faiths because of their exclusiveness. However, religion in the West is a social phenomenon and it implies the exaltation of humanist ideals. Radhakrishnan contends that both types of religion are needed. They complement each other for 'religion is not only a life transcending ideal but also a life transforming faith'.[83] He also thinks that 'Reality is never so clear-cut in its differences as the rubrics under which we dismember it for neat handling'.[84]

As a result of his penetrating study of religions, Radhakrishnan has sought to interpret religions in an objective manner. I give briefly his approach to Christianity. Whilst he has vehemently criticised Christianity for its doctrine of 'infallible creed, infallible book and infallible church' his account of the approaches that Christians have had towards others is thorough and impartial. For instance, he points out that:

(a) one approach was iconoclastic—there were forced conversions as Christianity was considered to be the only true faith. This approach goes counter to the behaviour of Christ, who did not force the Jews to become Christians.

(b) Indian faiths were not derided as 'a mass of superstitions and a sink of iniquity' but were viewed as minor lights which could be accepted as long as they accepted their subordinate status.

(c) Another attitude which has prevailed among Christians is one that is liberal, free, non-sectarian and non-proselytising. He cites several instances of Nicholas of Cusa, of Justin Martyr (who pointed out that 'they who have lived the Eternal word are Christians even though we may call them atheists'), of Toynbee (who thought that to deny that other religions could be 'God's chosen and sufficient channels for revealing Himself to some human souls, is to be guilty of blasphemy'),[85] of Archbishop Temple (who maintained that 'all that is noble in the non-Christian systems of thought or conduct or worship is the work of Christ upon them and within them'), of the Syrian Christians, of Rev.

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Verrier,[86] who refused to convert the Gonds to Christianity although he lived with them, of Lucas, who believed that evangelism should take the form of saving the Hindu as a Hindu. He is sympathetic to De Nobili who tried to present Christianity in terms of Hindu thought. He believes that it is not true to say that there is no salvation outside the Church but that 'outside the spirit of the Church none can be saved'.

Christianity, he contends, has wrestled with many social wrongs and has been responsible for the abolition of slavery but, by and large, Christians have closed their eyes to their own defects. Unlike several of his compatriots who view Christianity as a foreign religion, he contends that 'Christianity has not merely the rights of a guest but the rights of a native'. As a result of his study of comparative religions he has found that the spirit underlying the different religious traditions is the same.

Role of Leaders

True religious leaders are integrated individuals who combine in themselves deep contemplation and profound devotion to the world. They are catalysts for change 'who put truth above policy, humanity above country, love above force'.[87] Special responsibility devolves on religious leaders as the common run of humanity still look to them for inspiration and guidance.

Conclusion

Whilst Radhakrishnan is aware of the social significance of religion, he thinks that the present social order can be rejuvenated only when the individual transforms himself—so the 'ideal individual and the perfect society arise together'. This is a view that is shared by other renascent Hindu leaders like Vivekananda and Aurobindo. As Dietrich explains, 'Their message remained confined to the privileged classes and the core of their teaching was individual spiritual perfection, irrespective of the socio-economic structure of society'. The question as to who was privileged to have spiritual perfection in an exploitative society was unavoidably but not thoroughly raised. Transformation of society was assumed to result more or less automatically from individual spiritual perfection.[88]

Although it is evident that individuals have played a notable part in changing the course of history, yet the edifice of civilization is not just the work of isolated individuals but of individuals interacting with each other in groups, in and through institutions, so the reverberations in the social order are not only due to individuals but also due to social

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organisations. So, as Isherwood says, 'we can neither change the system first as some would-be reformers advocate, nor change ourselves first; the two processes must go on simultaneously'.[89]

Without denying that institutions have their limitations, it must be admitted that the little headway that has been attained in social amelioration has been through religious and social organisations and social legislation.

Perhaps, if Radhakrishnan is silent on how religious organisations can contribute to social change it is because of what he says about Eastern civilizations in general, viz., that 'they are interested not so much in improving social conditions—but in developing qualities of patience and endurance'.[90] But I rule out this explanation for his silence, for he has repeatedly stressed action but, on the other hand, habit weighs too heavily with us. Or it may be because he considers 'individual decisions to be matters of spiritual discernment while actions to implement them require technical knowledge and social sense'.[91] Yet another explanation for his reticence on this matter is that since he has been a vehement and outspoken critic of creeds associated with churches, he has hardly dwelt on the importance of religious institutions. 'Yet institutions being social habits are inherent and inescapable as are any set of habits—to conceive of a non-institutionalised religion for modern man is sociologically infantile. It is an attack on rationality and ethical stability themselves.'[92]

But due recognition must be given to him for his account of the abberations of religion and more so for his vindication of man as a religious being. 'A man's religion is something integral in his nature. It is a limb, which grows from him, grows on him, and grows out of him. If we take it away from him we mutilate his humanity and force it into an unnatural shape.'[93] He has also provided a cogent justification of its worth for the individual and society. Like Toynbee, he thinks that religion is the most potent instrument for peace. It alone can serve as the basis for a future world order.

The suggestions he has made regarding the ways whereby the fellowship of religions can be promoted have found an echo in Tillich's[94] 'latent church' and in Devanandan's 'Fraternity of Men' and are not wholly new. This Fellowship of Religion is being implemented in our country at various ashrams which promote inter-religious dialogue, prayer and attempts at inculturation, and in the international

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sphere, which has seen the birth of associations such as the World Council of Religions for Peace. Besides, no one can deny the truth of his principle that 'with our minds anchored in the Beyond we should strive to make the actual as it ought to be'[95] for he believes with Goethe that 'he who strives always to the utmost, him can we save'.

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3

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Besides religion, economic forces have a tremendous part to play in man's life.[1] But the economic scene has been revolutionised by science, hence Radhakrishnan has dealt with science—its nature and growth, its relation to the humanities, its uses and abuses and questions such as a value-free science and the accountability of the scientist.

According to Radhakrishnan, science is 'a whole-hearted passionate endeavour to know the truth, even if it results in our personal disaster'.[2] It connotes intellectual excellence, moral integrity and emotional commitment. He agrees with Lamont[3] that it is not just intellectual activity but involves the whole of man's nature. The ultimate goal of science is knowledge of man's self—*sarva sastra mayo jnanam atma darsasam*. The scientific outlook is characterised by objectivity and readiness for change. Scientific knowledge is the heritage of all mankind, so there is no Nazi mathematics or Jewish chemistry. The brain drain itself testifies to its consensual character.[4] Failure to fulfil the social aspirations of science of establishing a universal human community results in rivalry, distrust and anxiety among nations. Hence there is an attempt on the part of famous scientists to promote the exchange of scientific knowledge, even of atomic science, in order to relieve tension, restore confidence and promote internationalism.

Radhakrishnan thinks that the qualities essential for scientific growth are mental and moral discipline, unswerving dedication to truth, creative imagination, tolerance, open-mindedness, freedom from bias and hospitality to new ideas.

Science has made tremendous strides, especially in recent times. Scientific knowledge has enabled man 'to ride the waves and the wind... and to reach out to the stars'.[5] Man has been God-like in his advance from steam to electricity, from electricity to nuclear energy, in his cure

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of diseases, so 'there can be no retreat from modernity and science'. Today man no longer regards reality as unchangeable but seeks to subjugate it and mould it in accordance with his desires.

Science, Religion and Philosophy

Although science by virtue of its nature and method has 'swept the cobwebs of religious dogmas and beliefs', it has given rise to a new religion of messianic materialism. Radhakrishnan opines that today men realise that life can languish also because of mechanistic science. He does not consider them to be antithetical but holds that science and religion represent two dimensions of man which are interlinked, namely, the rational and the spiritual respectively. They also have certain elements in common. Both reveal truth, affirm the order, unity and intelligibility of the universe, thereby testifying to the existence of the Supreme, a view upheld by some philosopher-scientists like Morgan.[6] Hence they provide us with the same revelation even though we may arrive at it through different methods. It is not only scientific knowledge that is verified but 'religious ideas are also tested and judged by the lives and experiences of those who adopt them'.[7] Both need faith,[8] which is necessary in any field of thought where proof is not possible. Both foster the sense of human dignity and neither can be ignored.

Science has undoubtedly made its impact on philosophy as seen by the rise of logical positivism which maintains that 'a proposition is meaningful only if it can be verified'. But, as Radhakrishnan himself points out, this principle itself cannot be tested by means of observation. It is futile to debunk philosophy, for all men are inevitably philosophers because they raise questions about the meaning and purpose of existence—which are questions pertaining to primary causes, whilst science deals with secondary ones.

In consonance with his principle that knowledge is one, he maintains that science and the humanities are one as they all seek truth 'which is one and all-inclusive'.[9] As they are 'varied manifestations of the spirit in man' they are needed for his welfare and uplift. It is by virtue of the spirit, from which man's subjectivity flows, that he is able to judge and to be creative. Whilst science can provide man with values it is 'the humanities that provide the foundations for the spiritual life of mankind'.[10]

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Man's Reaction to Scientific Knowledge

Man's reaction to the vast store of scientific knowledge may be classified into three categories. Dazzled by the triumph of science, some have adopted a mechanistic view of the universe which attributes all change to natural forces. This view conceives men to be 'cerebral animals without souls, no better than beetles or dunghills'. Their behaviour is determined (not self-determined) by environmental forces, by the unconscious as propounded by Freud. Hence it ignores the spirit in man which is independent of the forces that impinge on it, which is the source of creativity in all human achievement—be it in science or the humanities. This view is lopsided for it confines itself to a part of experience and ignores man's experience of awe, reverence, humility in relation to the holy.

There are the agnostics and sceptics who think that reason has exhausted all areas of discovery so that the world is devoid of mystery, beauty and romance. Besides eminent scientists like Conant[11] and Whitehead[12] warning us against the exaltation of reason, Radhakrishnan cautions that 'the possession of reason is not a guarantee of our humanity. To become truly human, we need something more than reason'.[13]

The third category of thinkers represented by Max Planck maintains that 'science cannot solve the ultimate mystery of nature—we ourselves are part of nature and therefore part of the mystery we are trying to solve'.[14] So some scientists contend that 'we know only in part—not the beginning not the end'—and adopt a spirit of humility as they believe that there is no end either to knowledge or to mystery.

Limitations of Science

After the initial euphoria over scientific achievements, many scientists have become aware of its limitations. Science and its products can provide us with the means to the good life—it can give us prosperity and leisure but is silent on 'what we should do with life and leisure, health and wealth'. As Russell[15] says, it cannot tell a man what ends he should pursue. Science can do very little in the sphere of human relationships[16] where disorder prevails. It can neither penetrate into the realm of values[17] nor can it endow us with a sense of obligation or answer ultimate questions.

Radhakrishnan maintains that neither the natural nor even the social sciences can say 'how man should behave, what attitudes they

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should adopt, what behaviour they should impose upon themselves, what self-control they have to insist on—but they need to be supplemented by social philosophy, social ethics'.[18]

The Uses and Abuses of Science and Technology

An analysis of Radhakrishnan's works on the uses and abuses of science reveals that they fall into two broad categories which may be classified as being material and non-material in character. In the former group, there is the improvement of health by its victory over disease, famine and pestilence, the improvement of living standards by its discovery of the sources of energy, which has changed agriculture, industry and transport.

As for non-material benefits, it has increased leisure, given man confidence, security, promoted internationalism by its universal outlook, helped in overcoming phobias and biases because of its objective outlook. It has helped religion to review itself and led to an improvement in learning[19] by its passion for facts, its meticulous observation, its stress on evidence and its avoidance of hasty generalisation. Though he avers that science is 'a source of spiritual insights and values' yet he also affirms that it gives 'us power, not vision, strength and sanction'.

But simultaneously with the boons it has given mankind, 'there does not seem to be any check to the continuous prostitution of scientific effort to destructive purposes'.[20] If man uses science to engage in war it is likely to result in the extinction of civilization.[21] Radhakrishnan observes that despite the fact that scientific advance has increased productivity in several fields, there is gnawing poverty, increasing unemployment. So Radhakrishnan warns us that there is only one thing worse than the 'devil and that is the educated devil'[22] for science gives man knowledge,[23] not wisdom and compassion.

Radhakrishnan regards technology as the offspring of science as it seeks to apply scientific knowledge for human ends. Being of instrumental value,[24] it follows that technology and its products should be used to enrich human happiness. We should avoid two extremes—one of letting 'things get into the saddle' and the other of banning them altogether.

In dealing with the impact of technology, Radhakrishnan, like Hasan,[25] thinks that the sweep of technology is so vast that there is hardly anything that has been untouched by it—the food we eat, the

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clothes we wear, the thoughts we think and the way we entertain ourselves have all been produced by a large number of industrial processes,... and labour-saving devices.[26]

According to Radhakrishnan and several others,[27] industrialism has relieved man of hard toil so that the work is carried out speedily and efficiently. He also points out that it has provided man with leisure to engage in cultural and aesthetic pursuits.[28] It is also a potent instrument in banishing poverty, in improving living conditions, promoting social and economic equality[29] and in bringing about national integration.

He is aware however that the beneficial effects of industrialisation mentioned above have not been felt in India on account of divisive forces in our society, also because of our insatiable greed for Mammon, which has resulted in a spiritual vacuum. Today men are prepared to barter intellectual freedom and moral standards for the sake of business and markets.

Radhakrishnan indicates that 'the consumer's appetite grows by what he feeds on. To want more and to get more, is the way of material progress'.[30] Others like Calhoun,[31] Sraffa[32] and Lazlo[33] think that industrialisation has created new and superfluous wants. Radhakrishnan maintains along with other thinkers[34] that working with machines does not afford man the opportunity to exercise his intellect and be creative. Since factory work is monotonous and dulls the senses, factory workers using machines should be compensated by being given a higher salary and more leisure.[35] Industrialised society is based on the division of labour and specialisation of functions. The former reduces man to a mere cog in the wheel and results in what Marx[36] calls 'useless people'. Specialisation makes us 'forget the larger contribution in which we can see the meaning of our specialisation'.[37]

Other dangers of specialisation not expressed by Radhakrishnan are that new subdivisions within a science have led to a problem of communication between specialists and non-specialists. Toffler[37] has pointed out that specialisation results in a tendency to keep newcomers out. Heilbroner contends that compared to the versatility of the farmer, the specialist of today finds it difficult to perform outside his field.[39] It makes for inequality as there are 'more places for educated workers and fewer for the uneducated ones'.[40]

Like Kothari[41] and Pope Paul VI,[42] Radhakrishnan is aware of the dehumanisation that is likely to ensue from working at the machine.

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Although he stresses that in view of their monotonous work, workers should be given more leisure (which for him is the fount of religion, literature, philosophy) to develop their spiritual, intellectual, aesthetic potentialities, he realises that increased leisure 'is not used for satisfying the higher impulses which are thwarted or repressed during hours of toil'[43], but to 'nourish their souls in pubs and cabarets'. The way in which leisure is spent is an index of the values upheld by a society.

Note must however be taken of the fact that every society, though not always successful, attempts to check waywardness (such as breath layser law, prohibition of alcohol).

Today leisure tends to be packaged because of the prevalence of the mass media. While it may enlighten and entertain, it also tends to anaesthetise the individual. Radhakrishnan admits that the media lulls man into 'passivity, acquiescence and conformity'.

Radhakrishnan's suggestions for the utilisation of leisure are ideal but he does not recognise that man being an embodied spirit can, during his leisure, engage in activities (like sleeping, watching a film, visiting a friend) which, though not creative, are not harmful but meet needs that are not satisfied in his vocational life.

Large-scale industrialisation has also given birth to mass society which is noted for its anonymity,[44] standardisation,[45] alienation,[46] a society where the individual counts for less and less,[47] a society that engenders scepticism and the negation of the spirit of man.[48] This makes man impersonal and irresponsive to the needs of others, distrustful and afraid of expressing a dissenting opinion. As man is so accustomed to doing things in a group, he finds it agonising to be alone at 'labour, rest and worship'. Radhakrishnan's view is that several problems arise because man is not willing to pause for a while and take stock of himself. But Kumar[49] maintains that despite its limitations, mass society has led to the democratisation of political and social life.

Industrialisation has also affected social institutions, the most primary one being the family. It has weakened family bonds as members seek economic independence.

While Radhakrishnan has stated quite a number of the baneful effects of technology, there are some which he has not stressed, namely, that the introduction of machines results in unemployment.[50] So Gandhi laid more emphasis on 'production by the masses than on mass

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production'. Rothschild's[51] view is that initial unemployment is compensated for by greater employment facilities either in the same or related fields. Others opine that under-employment is definitely an issue in an advancing technological society owing to the obsolescence in knowledge which renders skills superfluous.[52] Some like Goodman[53] hold that 'the quality of life diminishes with new improvements'. Titus remarks that 'our productive capacities have been increasing out of all proportion to the increase in our power of discrimination, appreciation and imagination'.[54] Today there is also increasing awareness of the assault by technology on nature. Hence Kahn remarks that 'if technology produces more goods by destroying the environment, by making it less habitable, it may subtract from the total amount of human satisfaction rather than add to it'.[55]

Causes for the Distemper of Science and Technology

Radhakrishnan, like Bernal,[56] is aware that science and technology has boundless potential to improve life and society but if they have adversely affected man it is because of his failure to live as a self-determined being, to overlook his subjective character, to realise that he can mould the environment to suit his purposes.[57] He however warns that man can never wholly bend nature to his will for 'her blind caprices, her storms, earthquakes will continue to shatter his work and dash his dreams'.[58] Implicit herein is the idea that if the ecological balance is disturbed, nature will retaliate, so if we sow the wind we shall reap the whirlwind.

Science and technology have ushered in a 'time of testing', an age of opportunity and peril, as they provide him with tools (which he finds both attractive and repelling) with which he can 'enlarge his power to do evil as well as to resist it'. Neither of them tell man what goals he should seek. 'They tell us how to prolong life, diminish illness, increase wealth and leisure but they do not tell us what we should do with life and leisure, health and wealth'.[59] The abuses of science and technology are due to man's waywardness, due to his failure to use them as a means to further life and happiness instead of as a means to pursue ignoble ends.[60] Man therefore is his own greatest enemy. It is the decay in man's social, cultural and, above all, moral life, his purely utilitarian outlook and pursuit of power that result in grave social ills.

Radhakrishnan with Reddy opines that 'machines are a practical expression of man's ideals'. If he has worthy ideals. man can use

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machines to attain social justice and improve the quality of life, but he can also use them to exploit man, to dehumanise him.

Illich[61] however warns us that today we have technology, machines, which impose their own logic and reduce the range of man's choice. Schumacher[62] alerts us to the fact that whilst nature knows where to draw the line with regard to size, speed and so on, technology lacks the virtues of being 'self-balancing, self-adjusting and self-cleansing'. Laszlo[63] too cautions that you may ask the machine for something which 'in the long run you did not want'. Radhakrishnan thinks that the onus for the uses to which machines are put lies wholly with man.

Can Science and Technology be Value-free?

An issue that has constantly been raised in recent times is whether science can be value-free. It is best to consider the variety of opinions expressed on this theme in order to see into which category Radhakrishnan falls.

On this issue, which is linked with the question of its neutrality, there are some like Pulparampil[64] who think that 'in itself science is morally neutral. Its usefulness is determined—by the men who create and handle it', viz., the few men at the top of private institutions and of government bureaucracies.

Others like Mohr[65] aver that science is neutral because it cannot guide men in their choice of a goal but can show them how to attain it. Often technology is made 'the scapegoat for failures in human ethics'.

On the other hand, Schumacher[66] holds that technology is anything but neutral. It is a tremendous political force 'in shaping and moulding society with its own image. The technologies so far evolved, mainly by western capitalism, are forces pressing all societies which use them to adopt western capitalism whether in its private-capitalistic or its state capitalistic form.'

Rose maintains that 'science is never neutral for its goals are never neutral. Science is not done in a vacuum but in a context which places value judgements upon its goals'.[67] Hence it is up to us men to decide whether the sort of society we want should shape our choice of technologies or whether we should allow our society to be shaped by the 'inevitability of technological advance'.[68]

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Although Radhakrishnan agrees with (let them be called) the 'neutralists' that science cannot dictate the ends we ought to seek, that technology can be used for weal or for woe, nevertheless he agrees with the 'non-neutralists' that the products of science and technology reflect values, as they are activities undertaken by man. It is evident that man pursues perverse goals. The 'non-neutralists' focus attention on science which is inextricably woven into the social fabric and also on the dire consequences that man will have to face from a runaway technology.

Whilst Radhakrishnan has not stated the possibility of technology producing its own values, laws, as Kothari[69], Schumacher and Kotien have done, he certainly was aware that 'when technology is released from human control, it loses its meaning and we have a triumph of the means over the end'.[70]

The Accountability of Science and the Scientist's Role in It

Allied with the previous issue is that of the accountability of science and the scientist's role in it. Though Radhakrishnan has not formally tackled the problem, yet one can make conjectures (on the basis of his works) and evaluate his stand on this vexing question by getting a glimpse of the spectrum of views on the subject.

Scientists themselves have different views[71] on the question of who should be responsible for the uses to which science and technology are put. At one extreme is the view that the scientist has sole responsibility for the implications of his work and, at the other extreme, there is the 'ivory tower' approach, wherein the scientist is wholly unconcerned with the social consequences of his work. Between these positions there are several intermediate ones.

Some think that the onus for decision-making in the application of scientific and technical know-how should not rest with the scientist alone for several reasons: (i) scientific and technological knowledge connote power, like any other group that wields power. Scientists may abuse their power and hold society to ransom. Barber thinks that decision making should be the concern of 'all who have the responsibility for social purposes',[72] (ii) the scientist's decisions may be coloured by his political ideology and this is likely to affect adversely his spirit of detachment, which is the hallmark of scientific activity,[73] (iii) scientists by virtue of their present-day intense specialisation are not in a position 'to make a large contribution to direct political and social action',[74] and (iv) it is sometimes thought that decision making

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for the scientist would be problematic especially in a pluralistic society where there is a multiplicity of goals. But this is a difficulty that any decision maker would have to face.

Hence this group of thinkers maintains that scientists should not govern society but could serve as advisers to the decision makers, viz., politicians and statesmen. Doubts have also been expressed about the scientist's role as adviser. It has been pointed out that the goals sought are not made clear to them by their political masters nor are they perceived adequately by the scientists themselves.[75] Conant, an eminent scientist himself, indicates that 'no adviser (even the scientist) can be completely value-free... it is necessary to explore ways and means of balancing the biases of experts.'[76] It is also possible that there may be a misunderstanding between the scientist and the administrator. The two may view issues from their own perspective.[77] Another danger is that the scientist may forget his 'scientific attitude and become either an administrator or a crypto-politician'.[78]

Some think that since today's world is one of inter-dependence and all have a stake in the applications of science and technology, both scientists and non-scientists must equip themselves with requisite data to make proper decisions. One of the foremost tasks of the scientist is to appraise the risks and benefits of various courses of action. The public too has the bounden duty to imbibe (as best as it can) a knowledge of science and its applications.

Barber maintains that the social responsibility of the scientist is "to support a scientific analysis of social and political problems which so dangerously threaten the existence of science itself".[79]

Friedlander thinks that the two roles of the scientist (as an expert and as an enlightened citizen) should not only be kept separate but the scientist should be aware 'of which role he is assuming at each time'.[80]

On this issue, we may infer that Radhakrishnan holds that man is responsible for the decisions that he makes for he expressly says, 'There is nothing wrong about science: what is wrong is the use we make of it.'[81] Since he uses the term 'man' not to refer to any particular group of men but in a generic sense, he would agree with those thinkers who maintain that questions pertaining to the accountability of science should be the concern of all. Perhaps he would add (although he does not explicitly say so) that a special responsibility devolves on the scientist by virtue of his knowledge and the fact that he is the one who is most likely to know about the consequences of his work.

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There is, however, only one passage where Radhakrishnan appears to deviate from his usual stand of attributing responsibility to man. He says, 'If science is being perverted from its natural purpose, if it is used not for the happiness of mankind as a whole, but for private profit and public destruction, it is not the fault of science or scientists.'[82] Here he exonerates the scientist for the misuse to which science has been subjected but perhaps this can be interpreted to mean that in a society where decisions for the application of science are taken by politicians, scientists are not to blame.

But he is certainly not in favour of the scientist adopting an ostrich-like attitude, especially when he finds that governments tend to exploit scientific discoveries and development for narrow national gain and for purposes which isolate the universality of science. But Radhakrishnan is not content that the scientist functions as a mere adviser for he thinks that the scientist has to do his utmost to preserve his integrity as a scientist. He has to grapple with the powers that be and see to it that scientific knowledge is used only for beneficient purposes.[83] So whilst science is neutral, the scientist cannot afford to be ethically neutral.

He thinks that both scientists and technologists are 'co-creators with the divine' and it is up to them 'to fashion an environment that is more worthy of humanity'. From this we may surmise that Radhakrishnan would like the scientists to take decisions, to participate and play a positive and dynamic role in decision making in order to create a better world. He expects the scientist to be committed to this cause unlike those who would prefer the scientist to refrain from making choices for fear of losing the spirit of detachment. Although he did not seem to be aware of the hurdles in decision-making, he thought that hubris and lack of wisdom would result in the abuse of science and the degradation of society.

Steps to Recovery

There are a few pertinent observations that Radhakrishnan makes on science and society. He observes that (i) in today's technopolis, several are 'spiritually displaced, culturally uprooted, traditionless'; (ii) man's triumph in the arena of science has made him over-confident, greedy, selfish and power-thirsty; (iii) man has taken giant strides in science and technology but is abysmally slow and halting in his moral development; (iv) man has knowledge but not the wisdom to harness scientific knowledge for the well being of man;[84] (v) this age has also witnessed a

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fissure in the harmony which existed between the seer and scientist (for instance, in the Vedic ashramas and the Pythagorean brotherhood) resulting in the problem of faith versus reason; (vi) man has lost sight of the fact that scientific attainments are not only national in character but testify to the activity of the spirit. Hence it is not surprising that in view of these deficiencies man finds himself on the brink of disaster.

Radhakrishnan thinks that we need not despair but that if the debacle is to be averted, it is imperative for us 'to discover the reserves of spirituality, respect for the human personality, the sense of the sacred found in all religious traditions'.[85] He thinks that 'respect for the basic values of the spirit is the only antidote to the distempers of our society, social, economic and political'.[86] The life of the spirit is lived when man preserves his moral integrity by self-restraint. If society is sick, it is because man has failed to see that 'technical advance is balanced or off-set by increased self-discipline'.

Like Russell,[87] Radhakrishnan holds that scientific knowledge has to be tempered by philosophic wisdom. We need *jnanam, vijnanam, sahitam* as stated in the Gita.

Man also reveals his ignorance in regarding science wholly as the product of reason; he must realise that all his attainments are the 'expressions of the human spirit, human intelligence and human imagination'.[88]

Although he thinks that science and technology are powerless to improve human relationships, he believes that a developing country has great need of both scientists and technologists, in order to improve standards of living. It must not however be presumed that spiritual development is a necessary concomitant of material uplift. Radhakrishnan, however, would not 'ignore the world of scientific achievement and withdraw into the inner life of contemplation for we are involved in the mechanism of the modern world'.[89]

Without denying the contribution India has made to various fields of science in ancient times and its present efforts, Radhakrishnan finds that the country as a whole—including the scientific community—lacks the scientific spirit. He would like that the scientific attitude which is connoted by readiness to face changes, intellectual honesty and open-mindedness, should not only pertain to the realm of material goods but should also permeate to the 'mind and morals of the community'. It is because of our failure to apply the 'scientific and social wisdom' in our

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dealings with one another that we cling to outmoded and unjust practices of untouchability, and practise superstition. This is 'a failure which is writ large in our society' and the scientists, no less than the non-scientists, 'revere superstition as mystical revelation and adhere to absurd social customs in the name of tradition'.[90] He thinks that when this kind of pseudo-science takes the place of true science, it is pernicious.

Whilst Radhakrishnan admits that science has contributed to civilization it needs to be complemented by religion, philosophy, art and literature which inspire and secure confidence in the values of the spirit.

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4

ECONOMICS

Radhakrishnan thinks that besides religion, economic institutions have a frontal role to play in society. For the sake of convenience, his economic thought will be dealt with under four broad but closely related aspects, namely, (1) the ends that the economy is meant to serve, (2) the problems that the economy seeks to tackle, (3) the type of economy which best promotes the ends, and (4) the necessity, the difficulties and factors of development in industry and agriculture, which are two basic components of any economy today. As man and his needs are the pivot round which all economic activity revolves, it is necessary to consider Radhakrishnan's views on man's needs prior to an analysis of the principles and goals underlying his economic thought. It is also obvious that any consideration of economic thought will deal with the nature of work, its significance for man and society.

Man has to busy himself with the 'mechanics of living', viz., obtaining the basic needs of food, shelter and clothing and the satisfaction of these needs will help him in the 'art of living' which refers to the needs of the spirit. Hence man's needs are not only physical but also spiritual, moral, psychological and social. Man needs work, rest and worship. Through labour 'we know other men in the fellowship of common effort and contribute to their well-being. Through rest we are called upon to know ourselves in the freedom of thought and self-determination. Through worship we are enjoined to know the spirit of the universe and the purpose of it all'.[1]

The Ends of Economics

The ultimate goal of economics is human welfare which necessarily involves a consideration of the role of wealth. Closely allied with welfare and wealth are development and growth. To attain welfare, one must strive for social justice and an equitable distribution of wealth. Another principle stressed by Radhakrishnan is that the 'development of each is the condition for the development of all'.[2]

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For Radhakrishnan, welfare signifies 'wholeness of being' and it 'is not a matter of the goods we consume'. It is not to be equated with wealth though the modern man's credo is that 'only by getting rich we can pass through the eye of the needle'. The two terms are not identical in meaning, for several wealthy people are disgusted and disillusioned with life. There are some things like 'happiness, contentment, goodwill, love and beauty' that money cannot buy.

He warns that the exaltation of the economic factor leads to the degradation of character. He maintains that if there is a clash between spiritual and material factors, the latter must give way to the former. So wealth is a good slave but a bad master. According to Radhakrishnan, 'it is ethically colourless, neither good nor evil, but a necessary means for the attainment of the higher life for the individual and the mass of mankind'.[3] It is beneficial if it is used wisely. He quotes the Upanishad which says, 'after the achievement of wisdom, let me have wealth. Wealth and prosperity in the hands of the enlightened are a source of blessing. Wealth and prosperity in the hands of the unenlightened are a curse.'[4] So there is nothing wrong in producing and augmenting wealth provided that one does not become spiritually depraved. As regards the Indian business community he thinks that though it has its black sheep, it should not be condemned for it has 'high traditions'. Sehgal however points out that in India business in general 'is more a speculator than a builder, is more a pirate than a pioneer'.[5]

Radhakrishnan maintains that since man acquires wealth only with the help of the community, no man can have an absolute say in its disposal. 'The acquisition of wealth is contingent on the fulfilment of our social obligations.'

Whilst he acknowledges that service is a legitimate claim for income, 'income is not a sacred right arising out of property'. From this it follows that Radhakrishnan would consider the interest obtained on investments from savings (of one's hard earned money) as unjustifiable. In this case governments, for instance, of developing countries would have no adequate rationale for encouraging savings. He thinks that there is a difference between property accumulated by change of hands in a stock market speculation and the property which a farmer builds up by his toil. The latter has rights that do not belong to the former.[6]

According to Radhakrishnan, every man is a custodian of his wealth, so in property matters (which is a form of wealth) the principle

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of 'the responsibility of each for all' has to be admitted. Outmoded concepts of property have to be revised in the direction of 'fraternity and social responsibility'.

Restraints or curbs on wealth and property can take different forms, namely, (i) Profits from certain sources and beyond a certain sum would be considered illegal. (ii) Taxation can be imposed on large incomes. Mehta points out that taxation can serve as a tool of equity-oriented growth only if it releases resources for growth and releases part of its revenue directly for identifiable segments of society.[7] But attention must also be drawn to the problem of tax evasion.[8] (iii) Radhakrishnan also recommends 'social ownership of large sources of wealth and power as this would be far less dangerous to ethical life and more helpful to social fellowship.'[9] Like Gandhi and Metcalfe, Radhakrishnan lauds the self-reliance and social security of the ancient village community. The Panchayat and the trade guild provided every man with a job to support himself and his family and gave him the opportunity to contribute to the community. Land became an article of purchase only when Hastings introduced it. Radhakrishnan holds that centralised administration, the zamindari system, large-scale production and other factors ruined the community that was run on co-operative lines. Unlike Radhakrishnan, Karl Marx however thought the village communities always were exploitative and inegalitarian.[10] (iv) Steps must also be taken to ensure proper distribution of goods as this would increase opportunity for the underprivileged.

Radhakrishnan thinks that if these measures or other measures which bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth are not taken, we must prepare for a social revolution. 'Social revolutions are executed by those driven by hunger and dreams'. Myrdal, on the other hand, thinks that this does not apply to the teeming millions of India who are so utterly passive that 'there will be neither much evolution nor revolution'. There is in fact, 'a possibility of utter and increasing impoverishment'.[11]

As regards development and growth (which bear a striking affinity to welfare and wealth respectively) it has been pointed out that economic growth is an aspect of development. Just as wealth does not necessarily or automatically lead to welfare the same can be said of growth. 'There is no inherent magic in higher growth rates—so much

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depends on the "composition" of the growth' and whether the objectives of development are fulfilled, such as providing the masses with a fair measure of basic amenities of life, a high degree of employment opportunities and so on.

Radhakrishnan also avers that increased income has made no visible difference to the poor. Though growth is related to welfare, it has been regarded as an insane way of calculating welfare. So economic development does not restrict itself to augmenting production but concentrates more on distributing the wealth that has been produced by the economy.

Radhakrishnan wholly supports the Justinian principle of Justice which is 'the constant and perpetual will to give every man his due'. Our Constitution aims at securing for its people justice, economic and social. His suggestions for obtaining justice are not novel but the usual ones such as raising living standards,[12] developing basic industries and providing employment, reducing disparities in wealth, the elimination of poverty, providing welfare facilities, employing distributive taxation. He thinks that we must not stop at justice but aim at the 'refinement of human relationships; at the development of the virtues of the mind and the graces of life'.[13]

But meeting the demands of social justice means tackling the gross inequality which hits us in the eye. The prevailing abject poverty, rank illiteracy, ruthless exploitation make it impossible for man to exercise his vote freely. Radhakrishnan also thinks that the present economic organisation is such that most people experience fear and insecurity, which is the 'root cause of civil strife and national obsessions'.[14] Hence, an equitable social economy can be achieved only by deliberate direction and control of the production and distribution of wealth. This is to be done not only at the national level but also at the international level[15] under an international authority. So attempts have to be made to provide equality of opportunity for all.[16]

He believes that 'each individual is infinitely precious in God's eyes, whatever be his rank or position in society.... We can improve the social order only when we wholeheartedly strive for justice and equality for all and accept individual responsibility for achieving this end'.[17] But while upholding the basic equality of man he also stresses that equitable distribution should not be 'at the cost of the levelling of talent', that

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economic rewards should be linked with service, that due cognisance has to be given to individual merit. He would agree with Kothari that 'left to itself, the concept of equality can become a dogma, lead to demagogy and tyranny from above, and reduce individual men and women into uniformities called masses in whose name power is concentrated in the hands of a few. A proper concept of justice, should instead foster respect and preserve diversities in human propensities and preferred social arrangements'.[18]

There is indeed a controversy regarding the criteria on the basis of which equitable distribution is to be done. The moot point is whether it should be done on the basis of need or merit. Those in favour of a need-based distribution, because it is humane and good in itself, hold that 'merit is a bit of an accident not only in its origin but also in its being treated as merit'.[19] But it is also recognised 'that earned differentials are considered to be entitled to a higher respect on ethical grounds than inherited or accidental differentials'.[20]

Radhakrishnan has not expressly discussed this issue but an interpretation can be given on the basis of statments he has made. He does consider the principle of need, for he holds that 'economic concessions' should be given to the economically backward but not on the basis of caste or community. But he seems to stress that only the efficient should be selected for the services. He expects the best or the elite to lead in all spheres. He believes that 'exceptional ability is socially so valuable that it may be given exceptional opportunity'.[21] Again, he asserts that 'there will always be men of ability who lead and direct, and others who will obey and follow. Brains and character will come to the top and within the framework of democracy we shall have an aristocracy of direction'.[22] He thinks it a delusion to believe that one can 'abolish distinctions between the genius and the fool, the able organiser and the submissive worker'.

But like Rawls,[23] Radhakrishnan maintains that those who are more favourably endowed have a responsibility to improve the lot of those who are not so fortunate and those with undeserved inequalities should be redressed. So he advocates that special training be given to the retarded in order to make them self-reliant. From this it is evident that his notion of equality is not an arithmetical one[24] and he would agree with the view that 'equality of treatment or equality of rights does not necessarily mean an identity of treatment'.[25]

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As stated earlier, Radhakrishnan thinks that welfare is not just national but global[26] so the developed nations have an obligation towards the developing and under-developed countries of the world. The grounds for giving aid are that the wealthy are trustees of their wealth—so the giving of aid to the underprivileged countries is a matter not so much of charity as of justice.[27] Moreover, we must also learn from Mother Earth who from her bounty gives freely to us all sunlight, air, etc. 'We too, in the same spirit, should distribute our resources of food, clothing and shelter equitably.'[28]

Whilst recognising the obligations that the affluent have to the underprivileged, he is aware that aid 'should not enslave man' and that excessive aid 'is not healthy for a sound and safe economic structure'.[29] In fact, it is being stressed today that it is not just 'excessive aid' (as Radhakrishnan thought) but any aid needs to be viewed critically to see whether or not it adversely affects the health and economy of the developing and under-developed nation. Donaldson,[30] for instance, points out that 'western type of technology has features which make it only very dubiously applicable in underdeveloped economies'[31] for they are extremely sophisticated, require specialists and are captial intensive. Schumacher[32] pleads for aid in the form of knowhow (for instance, imparting the art of fishing) rather than material goods (fish) for the former is aid which is lifelong and makes for self-reliance while the latter is aid that is shortlived and one that makes for dependence on the giver.

One of the reasons given by Radhakrishnan for the prevalence of injustice is that 'those who have a sense of justice suffer from inertia'. Other thinkers have given other reasons why aid is not forthcoming. Some put it down to indifference[33] on the part of the rich, others attribute it to the selfishness of the wealthy who find it profitable to preserve the status quo.[34] Others point out that the rich feign ignorance[35] about the plight of the poor. Some put it down to 'Aid Fatigue' and failure on the part of the recipient to make good use of the aid given.[36] Others opine that instead of going a-begging abroad, developing countries should seek aid from the rich within their own land.[37]

Radhakrishnan has not commented on when the rich will be prompted to give aid. Some think that this will be done when an appeal is made to their moral sense or when the rich change their attitudes or when they themselves experience a touch of harsh reality.[38]

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According to Radhakrishnan, the goal of human welfare can be attained by adhering to the principles of social justice and equality, on the one hand, and by recognising that 'the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all', on the other hand.

At first sight it may appear that Radhakrishnan is advocating a policy of unbridled individualism. History has shown how the free development of the individual did not always lead to the free development of all but resulted in the enslavement of the majority. Radhakrishnan is fully aware that extreme individualism has given rise to oppression, poverty and to vast inequalities among men, and is in favour of certain measures to check the abuses of gross individualism (for instance, in the field of property). At the same time, he takes pains to stress that the checks imposed by society should not result in the negation of individual liberty. So just as a 'society without social impulses cannot cohere, a society without individual life cannot survive'.[39] Hence the relation between the individual and society is one of mutual interdependence. He thinks that we should strive for a society where the individual enjoys economic security and the freedom to pursue his intellectual and spiritual life.

Radhakrishnan's principle that 'the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all' is, I think, perhaps best explained if one considers the distinction that he makes between 'the mechanics of living' and the 'art of living'. In the first sphere, which refers to the material conditions of existence, he believes in 'control, planning and regulation' but in the latter sphere, which signifies the cultural life, he wants citizens to enjoy 'absolute freedom to think, meditate and worship as they choose'.[40] Absolute freedom is never desirable, especially when thought affects actions and poses either a danger or becomes a nuisance (as in the case of some religious practices) to society. In such cases state regulation is necessary.

He concedes state regulation over the individual in matters of wealth to secure the welfare of the poor classes but he adds that it should be done 'without endangering the spiritual heritage which gives dignity to the life of man'.[41]

Radhakrishnan would urge that whilst planning the economic and industrial life we have to keep in mind the distinction between 'the mechanics of living and the art of living', uphold 'political freedom and

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economic opportunity for all' and strike a balance between the claims or rights of the individual and his responsibilities to society.

Some Problems of the Developing Countries

Radhakrishnan thinks that if the goal of human welfare is to be attained and if the social order needs to be improved, attention must be given to some of the major problems which plague developing countries, such as those of health and housing, unemployment and poverty.

Health

Radhakrishnan considers health to be of primary importance to man. It is a prerequisite for the growth of our various capacities—intellectual, economic, ethical, artistic and spiritual. Health signifies physical efficiency which is integral to the development of man's being. It is because our people are not healthy that the quantity and quality of work done is vastly inferior to the work done by people of the developed countries. The main causes of poor health are hunger or under-nourishment[42] and an insufficient or inadequate water supply and poor sanitation. I would add that even when sanitary facilities (however meagre) are provided, some people are content to live in dirt and filth and do not make use of them. Prof. Gadgil holds that 'Indians have no sense of neighbourhood... it is the caste system which accounts for the state of Indian sanitation.... Perhaps one way of cleaning up India would be to outlaw the traditional sweeper altogether'.[43]

Radhakrishnan thinks that no pains should be spared in eradicating disease especially in a country where much stress has been given to overcoming pain. Steps have to be taken not only to prevent further deterioration of health but also to provide people with nutrition, sanitation, housing and education through self-help and mutual assistance schemes. Whilst all these are necessary for health he has dealt with the last two factors, but education will be dealt with later.

Housing is not to be viewed only from the physical plane but it serves as 'an opportunity for the expression of social values'. 'A house is not the physical satisfaction of a physical need. It is not simply a house but it is a home, a centre of family life. The way in which we build a house should express our social thinking.'[44]

The present acute shortage of housing is largely due to the mobility of the people from the rural to the urban areas resultant on

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industrialisation. But this movement can be minimised by 'creating conditions in the countryside which will induce people to continue to live there', such as attending to the needs of the villages, undertaking village development schemes, providing lucrative jobs, diversification and scatteing of industrial establishments.

Poverty

Radhakrishnan's description of Indian poverty as a state where 'millions have never slept on a bed or taken a cooked meal, millions who accept dirt and vermin as their natural environment' complements Kurien's definition of poverty as 'deprivation for the many and affluence for the few... resources of society are used to satisfy the wants of a few while the many do not have even their basic needs met'.[45]

Unlike Adiseshiah who thinks that the main causes of poverty are immaterial, Radhakrishnan contends that the causes are numerous: sloth, dishonesty, cupidity of our people, agricultural backwardness, our social system where laws and institutions have not protected those most in need of protection, namely, the poor and the weak.[46] Other thinkers have given other reasons for poverty, namely, that 'poverty breeds poverty',[47] that it is perpetuated on account of vested interests[48] and is due to a lack of adequate policies to bring about national integration.[49]

In elucidating the effects of poverty on the individual, Radhakrishnan thinks that one should not seek to justify the existence of poverty on the grounds that it is essential for spirituality. He thinks that it is not just power that corrupts but poverty that corrupts millions. It dwarfs a person's moral and mental powers, it humiliates and degrades man, and gives rise to fear and insecurity. He goes to the extent of saying that 'it is the demon of poverty which is ultimately responsible for caste and communal differences'.[50] On the contrary, I would like to point out that it was the caste system that determined one's vocational and social status and privileges.

Radhakrishnan states that poverty has given the poor a quality of 'stoic endurance and resignation'. The poor have risen from the state of 'listless fatalism to self-awareness and even self-assertion'. He thinks that people will no longer tolerate the vast inequalities of wealth. He is of the view that if the revolution of rising expectations is not attained

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there will be frustration, cynicism and despair, which are not healthy for any society. Indian poverty today is stark and explosive and if nothing is done to avert it, it is then that the whole suffers.[51] Whilst all agree that poverty is a problem that should be eradicated, several thinkers differ from Radhakrishnan as regards the character of Indian poverty.

Sehgal thinks that Indian poverty is unique in its depths, in its blatancy or ubiquitousness and in its magnitude. Sehgal[52] and Naipaul[53] maintain that a society where the zamindar and the landless labourer see their present condition as due to their past Karma cannot 'generate a mass of rising expectations'. Nair points out that a great majority of the rural community do not share in this concept of an ever-rising standard of living. Generally, the lower the level the more static the aspirations tend to be.[54] Myrdal's view is that in Asia there will be neither 'evolution nor revolution' because the masses are passive, apathetic and inarticulate. Tawney contends that since 'too many of the poor admire the rich' it is not likely that the masses would seize power from the governing class.[55]

Radhakrishnan thinks that it is possible to banish or at least check poverty as 'science and industry have made it possible for all mankind to satisfy their normal appetites without any encroachment on their fellows'.[56] We have the knowledge, the resources and the means to bring about an economic revolution. We must improve and increase agricultural production, step up trade both within and outside the country and have a planned economy which directs attention to this problem[57] unlike the present economic organisation which is the 'very negation of humility and love'. It should be more balanced and humane so that every person secures at least the essentials of life. Radhakrishnan suggests that priority should be given to basic necessities, defence expenditure should be curtailed, oil refineries should be set up, family planning or birth control schemes should be undertaken. There should be no rivalry and hostility among the people but all should work hard and honestly, for the common good.

Unemployment

Radhakrishnan presumes that it is evident that one works for the satisfaction of one's basic needs. He attributes the causes of unemployment to the single-minded pursuit of personal gain and self-interest, also to a lack of industrial and commercial activities which

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would absorb the educated unemployed, to a lack of social intelligence and morality, and due to the inequitable distribution of wealth. It may be pointed out that some unemployment may be due to the use of labour-saving machines, or it could be due to population growth, faulty planning and so on.

Moreover, Radhakrishnan seems to have concentrated his attention on only one category of the unemployed, namely, the educated unemployed. He has neglected the question of under-employment;[58] nor has he dealt with the problem of the uneducated unemployed. Radhakrishnan agrees that 'employment is the very precondition of everything else' and a major objective of economic planning. But probably he stressed the need of attending to the educated unemployed for they are more likely to pose a threat to democracy.

Schumacher[59] thinks that this problem will disappear provided that every man is willing 'to use his hands in a productive way'. Radhakrishnan shares the same spirit when he maintains that an educated person should take any job that is available and do it well rather than wait until he gets a suitable job.

Whilst Radhakrishnan has dealt with the problems of health, poverty and unemployment, he has paid scant attention to the problem of population growth except to say that the 'government is campaigning against it'. He did not consider it to be the cause of poverty and he disagreed with the Malthusian view that the resources of Nature are unequal to the rapid increase of the population. In this Radhakrishnan differs radically from those who point to the dangers[60] of population growth and who think that if this trend continues 'governments will feel compelled to intervene with forcible methods',[61] to contain this growth. It is felt that if a rational and humane solution is not found immediately, 'we will be overtaken by events' and it would 'explode in suffering, in violence, in inhumanity'.[62]

Although Radhakrishnan did not consider population growth to be a major and urgent problem, he did uphold the use of contraceptives for those who do not want to bring up their children in pain and poverty. So 'in the interests of social economy, facilities for birth control must be available, especially to the poorer classes.'

So no matter what the problems are, Radhakrishnan thinks that if problems exist in our country, we are wholly responsible for them. It is

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necessary for us to rid ourselves of 'our weakness, our greed our self-will' which leads to an existence that is 'stunted, impoverished and diseased' and which we must eradicate as other countries have done.

Work—Its Necessity and Significance for the Individual and Society

Work is undoubtedly essential for the attainment of welfare, hence it is essential to examine its necessity and significance both for the individual and society.

Radhakrishnan thinks that man needs work to satisfy his basic necessities. Although it is true that 'man does not live by bread alone, but without bread man cannot live at all!'[63] He expressly states that work is a channel for self-expression, for creativity. The pride and satisfaction that ensue when work is well done, helps in the development of personality. It also enables man to know other men in the fellowship of a common effort and contribute to their well-being.[64] Work is useful not only to the individual but also to the community as it increases production, which is an aspect of development.

What may be added is that work promotes social growth, the development of a man's capacities and helps him to retain his sanity.[65]

Radhakrishnan conceives all work to be sacred. Its sanctity derives from the spirit of 'dedication and integrity' with which it is meant to be done.

Industrialism has affected the conditions of work and the worker's attitude to work as well. Mass production, which involves the use of machines, has made work repetitive, dull, monotonous, providing man little opportunity for creativity and for responsibility. As stated earlier, specialisation and division of labour also have their dangers. Today work is judged solely on the basis of utility and tangible outcome.

Radhakrishnan thinks that these issues can be resolved provided that man regains a proper conception and attitude to work. The worker must cease to regard himself as a mere wage earner and consider his work, no matter how lowly, to be meaningful as it helps in nation-building. Workers today should emulate the spirit with which work was done in the ancient Indian village communities wherein all kinds of workers (cultivators, barbers, sweepers, etc.) manifested 'honour, friendship, humanity and sympathy' to one another. So no workers isolate themselves from others. He also thought that while trade unions

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are not to be treated as tools of the state, they should not allow sectional interests to prevail over the national good'.[66]

Radhakrishnan also agrees that increased participation of workers in the industrial enterprise improves relations between the employers and the workers in industry. The other well-known suggestion is that in case of disputes, methods of conciliation, persuasion and arbitration should be employed and attempts have to be made to retain an element of freedom in all work.

Although Radhakrishnan has not explained how this element of freedom could be retained or introduced, others have suggested that it could be done by giving each worker or group of workers responsibility for a clearly identifiable product, or the work cycle is lengthened and made more challenging or providing the worker with greater flexibility in organising his own work.[67] Efforts have also to be made to reduce the degree of monotony in work.[68]

Radhakrishnan also thinks that we have not yet grasped the principle of the dignity of labour, for a sweeper's job is as important and necessary as that of an engineer. He tells us that abroad (Germany, Japan), even those with doctorates, take up any job that is available and they do it wholeheartedly. He says, 'Why talk that we are more spiritual, we are more advanced, we are more mature when we are not able to do these elementary things in the spirit in which we utter our great words?'[69] But he contends that this misconception (regarding the inferior status of scavengers, etc.) will prevail 'as long as society rewards them unequally for their services'. Although he recognises that all cannot be given equal wages, the present disparities in income levels should not be great and workers must be given a living wage. Workers should be differentiated by the quality and virtues that they manifest in their work, namely, those of honesty, efficiency and comradeship, rather than on the basis of income. Aware that often those who have not worked[70] have profited from the efforts of those who have toiled, he thinks that every government should strive to see that only those who work should enjoy the fruits of their labour. If an economic revolution is to occur by raising agricultural and industrial production, it is imperative for us to work hard and to work well.

In order to work 'we must have a sense of national unity, a clean administration, respect for integrity'. Whilst it is true that an inept and

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corrupt administration can act as a disincentive and as an impediment to hard work, those who believe in doing their duty, in upholding standards of integrity, will do so irrespective of the kind of administration.

As there is a great need for good and hard workers, Radhakrishnan thinks that whilst selecting people for jobs, recruitment should be done on the basis of merit, competence and integrity, not nepotism, favouritism, bribery and corruption. He opines that 'it should be our duty to choose the very best irrespective of all other considerations of caste and community or political pressures. Otherwise, we shall encourage a grave threat to our infant democracy'.[71]

Economic Import of Capitalism, Socialism and Democratic Socialism

A topic that is vitally connected with the pursuit of the goals of economics is the type of economy that best promotes these goals. An examination of economics under capitalism, socialism and democratic socialism would enable us to understand Radhakrishnan's stand on this issue.

There are diverse views that have been expressed regarding the nature of capitalism. It is generally understood that capitalism is based on the 'profit motive' which is the key determinant of the allocation of resources in production and of the choice of production techniques,[72] that it stands for private ownership and private enterprise, where government is to adopt a policy of *laissez faire* and do as little as possible to restrict the capitalist from amassing wealth. This indicates that since the profit motive is dominant, competition is encouraged and the entire process caters to individual self-interest.

It was assumed that it was even ethically justified and that utter devotion to self-interest would result in the welfare of all, but its blind pursuit has resulted in a flagrant violation of justice and equity. It has 'precipitated the twin crisis of human ecology and world poverty'[73] or, as Joan Robinson point out, it has made 'the planet uninhabitable even in peace-time'.

There are however others like Dasgupta and Kothari who are of the view that capitalism has passed through different stages. In its early phase it was characterised by the Protestant Ethic which stood for habits of thrift, hard work, sobriety, obedience. It encouraged creativity, and

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resulted in efficient work and economic growth. But now that it has become corrupt, it 'relies in diametrically opposite ethic—the ethic of constant want and waste'[74] and has become an anachronism as far as the underdeveloped countries are concerned.

Yet Nehru[75] and others maintain that traditional capitalism with its evils is as dead as a dodo. What exists today (since the 1930's) is a welfare capitalism or regulated capitalism which permits room for 'governmental control of private property and participation in the general economy'.[76] As Appadorai explains, legislation has everywhere (even in capitalist states) been 'undertaken by the State to protect the worker and the consumer, to promote public health and to enforce compulsory education'.[77]

Toffler[78] differs from others in pointing out that the evils of pursuit of profit attributed to capitalism are in fact due to industrialism. Others like Mehta[79] maintain that in developing countries, be they capitalistic or collectivist, economics are very much the same since one has acquired the features of the other.

One of the alternatives to capitalism as an egotistic profit-oriented system is socialism of the extreme form (state capitalism as Messner[80] calls it) which prevails in communist countries and which has the opposite traits of those of traditional capitalism.

Radhakrishnan is not in favour of an economy that is completely state-controlled for he thinks that 'a collectivist society becomes tyrannical and spells danger to human life and freedom'.[81] Nor does he assent to a capitalism that is synonymous with crass individualism but he has indirectly admitted to a change in traditional *laissez faire* capitalism in so far as he recognises that 'state participation in industry is an established feature of the State economy in many countries of the world'.[82] He thinks that the via media between the two is the type of economy that follows from democratic socialism.

Though democratic socialism has been given different interpretations at different times, Radhakrishnan conceives it to be a system which aims at securing individual liberty and social justice. It signifies 'an economic order based on social ownership of large sources of wealth and power which would be far less dangerous to ethical life and more helpful to social fellowship'.[83] It advocates that the gains of the economy should be equitably distributed, that through deliberate

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planning, measures should be taken to curb and eliminate social evils so that all are assured of the means of a satisfying life.

Radhakrishnan however endeavours to show that whilst the stress in democratic socialism is on 'the social vision, the social purpose, the social approach' it does not seek to root out private enterprise but that it has 'to integrate its development within the framework of broader socio-economic ends such as the reduction of the inequalities of wealth and opportunity and the prevention of the concentration of economic power in a few hands'.[84] He also thinks that the social and economic upheaval which is entailed in making a transition from the old economic order to the new should be carried out by peaceful methods based on persuasion and consent.

A facet of democratic socialism assumed by Radhakrishnan is that it favours an economy not directed to luxuries but to needs, to what Titus calls 'property for use' rather than 'property for power over the lives of others'.[85]

Mixed Economy

According to Radhakrishnan, a 'mixed economy' is one that embodies the principles of democratic socialism. Adopting a mixed economy is like organising one's economy as a park 'which has elements of both natural and planned growth',[86] the other alternatives being a forest which represents unbounded capitalism and the other a garden which signifies 'public control that is all-comprehensive'. He believes that since we cannot wholly escape from the consequences of the past (presumably injustice, inequalities), a mixed economy helps us to 'adjust to the rights of the future'.

In this type of economy there is room for private enterprise and hence a private sector which would be subject to certain regulations in the interest of the commonwealth and for public ownership in a public sector over which the government has exclusive control. Hence in a mixed economy there is a balance between the public and private sectors though at times it seems to be weighted in favour of the former. It must be noted that it is this steady and increasing weightage or the 'composition of the mix' given in subsequent Industrial Policy Resolutions, that has aroused criticism. Hence the plea 'Free the economy and see the difference'.[87]

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Radhakrishnan thought that the task of attaining economic and social progress was to be done by mutual cooperation of both sectors, the private sector would accept 'discipline' in the interest of the social good, the public sector by doing its work honestly and efficiently would make for a thriving private sector.

Mr. J.R.D. Tata affirms that at first both sectors were regarded as parts of a simple dynamic organisation with due importance being given to the private sector but gradually the government's helpful attitude towards the private sector changed and measures were introduced which crippled its ability to grow.[88]

Radhakrishnan was aware that democratic socialism and a mixed economy may endanger liberty owing to increasing state control but what may be added is that it can certainly weaken initiative.[89]

It has also been pointed out that despite the importance attached to the public sector, it has not proved to be an effective instrument of social change and has only succeeded in preserving the status quo.[90]

Planning

For Radhakrishnan and several others, planning the economy is generally regarded as a characteristic of socialism and of democratic socialism. Nehru drew attention to the fact that planning is accepted in varying degrees by almost everyone but that planning by itself need not necessarily lead to good results. Much depends on the objectives of the plan, the government and so on.[91] As Radhakrishnan has given thought to the goals of economic activity, these would undoubtedly feature in his concept of planning.

Several thinkers have stressed different tasks in planning. Kapp,[92] for instance, expresses the tasks in broad terms covering objectives, allocation, implementation and coordination. Evans[93] refers to priorities in the utilisation of resources. Myrdal[94] stresses proportions of funds to be allocated for new public service utilities, increasing agricultural production and the quality of life of the people. Mayur[95] in his account of the functions of planning emphasises problems relating to ecology.

Of the tasks mentioned, Radhakrishnan is explicit about the goals of planning, namely, the attainment of social and economic justice by regulating the production and distribution of wealth.[96] He maintains that planning must satisfy the needs and requirements of two major

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constituents, namely, agriculture and industry. Besides, it is likely that he would favour a plan which views 'the economy as a macro unit and represents it in terms of a few aggregate figures'. He would prefer 'a person specific, location specific, commodity specific' approach because he thinks that 'economic schemes are relative to the degree of social economic developments of different communities'. Radhakrishnan therefore would endorse Myrdal's view that 'the plan must not only be a general scheme, but must have this adequately worked out in detailed directives by careful planning of the different sectors'.[97]

It is pertinent to observe that while planning is essential, it cannot be regarded as a panacea for all economic ills, for the setting out of appropriate objectives does not guarantee their fulfilment. Besides, planning may be over-ambitious and misdirected. Several difficulties have been voiced, namely, that development effort may be hampered on account of 'duplication of agencies, decentralisation and lack of implementation'. There is also a tendency to put forth grandiose plans which 'cater to the spirit of nationalism rather than needs of national growth'.[98] Although Radhakrishnan has not dealt with or stated any of these hindrances, yet he is aware of the dangers of excessive planning for a 'planned life in which our employment is compulsorily provided for us, in which we are deprived of our responsibility for our own lives but also for the care and welfare of our families, which involves the maximum of social security, is no compensation for the loss of individual responsibility and freedom'.[99]

Agricultural and Industrial Development

Radhakrishnan contends that planning must be implemented in the industrial and agricultural sectors and this would lead to an improvement in the living conditions and the cultural life of the people. He envisaged 'an economy that should be centralised, supported by agriculture, village industries and supplemented by necessary large scale industries run not for the profit of a few industrialists but for the general welfare'.[100]

He has tremendous faith in the use of science and technology[101] which can bring about an economic revolution and transform the lives of the people—especially the masses who live in the villages where there is a dearth of water, food, transport, hospitals and schools.

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Radhakrishnan thinks that there is need to set up power stations, atomic reactors, hydroelectric projects, to build dams, to carry out irrigation projects, to produce machinery, defence equipment and so on. All these fall within the purview of the Public Sector. He maintained that if this sector is to function effectively all impediments, such as wastage on account of incompetency, dishonesty,[102] red tapism,[103] inflexibility leading to a decrease in initiative should be removed. Other requirements for efficient work are 'a sense of national unity, a clean administration, respect for integrity'.

Radhakrishnan is aware that science and technology affect society either beneficially or adversely but what he did not note is that society with its structures can either promote or impede the development of science. It is probably his belief in the universality of science and its applications that made him rely on the efficacy of foreign technologies for he hardly expresses any doubt on their suitability for a developing country that asks for aid.

Today, however, there is considerable thought given to the wisdom of adopting what Schumacher calls 'intermediate technology' which stresses, as Gandhi did, 'production by the masses' which is labour intensive rather than capital intensive. Similarly, the main principle of Alternative Technology is the use of technology that is 'compatible with its local setting'. Today technologies adopted by developing countries are judged on the basis of their ecological and environmental soundness, their potency to realise the objectives for which they are intended and the extent to which they promote self-reliance.[104]

Whilst acknowledging the importance of heavy industry, Radhakrishnan thinks that we can by no means neglect the development of small scale and cottage industries for the two are not mutually exclusive. He cites the instances of countries like the UK, the US, Japan and Switzerland where this principle has been successfully implemented.

Industries have a positive contribution to make towards the economy and development as they help to mitigate the problem of unemployment and under-employment and Radhakrishnan considers them to be 'nurseries of imagination and inventiveness'.

Radhakrishnan has made several suggestions to vivify and reinforce these types of industries. Research should be conducted with regard to the products and techniques of cottage industries and the

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results should provide feedback material for those engaged in this type of industry. Help may also be secured from colleges in order to improve crafts. Community Development Projects and National Extension Schemes are also entrusted with this task and their organisation of co-operatives would promote development of industries without becoming unduly dependent on Government.

But as Fernando[105] points out, thought and care must be exercised in choosing the particular small scale or cottage industry for development. Care must also be taken to see that small scale industries are protected from the crippling competition of monopoly houses.[106]

Agriculture

Radhakrishnan stresses the need for a balanced development of industry and agriculture. He stresses that agriculture is the mainstay of our economy, hence 'its purposes and practices are and will remain basic to all planning'. In this respect we can learn from the advanced countries where the agricultural factor has never been neglected. In fact, all attempts are made to utilise the latest knowledge and equipment in order to improve the produce. America's dominance in the world is due to her surpluses in 'food, cloth and tobacco'.

Agricultural development is of the utmost importance for several reasons. Apart from our economy being primarily an agricultural one, agriculture provides man with food which is a basic necessity. Radhakrishnan thinks that it is needed as a prerequisite for the development of culture. Besides, industry depends on agriculture as the fact that industry languishes for want of agriculture has been acknowledged by several thinkers.[107]

Radhakrishnan attributes the backwardness of our agriculture to a host of factors such as the vagaries of climate, the channeling of funds to different causes, paucity of funds, primitive and outmoded methods of farming, lack of pest control, and personal factors such as dislike of change, fear of social consequences, lack of good leaders, sloth and avarice.

Others have explained our poor agricultural production as being due to the sharecropping system and the land tenure system (which work as disincentives), the existence of money lending and perpetual indebtedness and the absence of technical knowhow. Radhakrishnan, however, admits that in spite of the objectives of the Five Year Plans, rural areas are grossly neglected, community development projects fail

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to rouse the people's enthusiasm and the administrative machinery is unwieldy.

Being positive in his approach, he has also indicated the ways whereby some of the difficulties can be overcome. The measures suggested by him are providing farmers with requisite knowledge and skills[108] by utilising the services of agricultural graduates through *vya-vasaya* or effort, by developing animal husbandry, and dairy farming, by improving methods of fodder production and separation, participation by farmers 'in cattle shows, rallies, milk yield competitions', by using fertilizers, new seeds, new techniques of farming, provision of protection from floods, undertaking schemes for a more effective distribution of water, providing for storage facilities, standardisation of food prices, land reforms,[109] provision of rural credit, checking blackmarketing through the instrumentality of the Essential Commodities Act and the DIR, bringing about a more equitable distribution to cultivators and giving priorities to agriculture in planning and implementation.

Obstacles to Development—A Critique

Although Radhakrishnan has given quite a comprehensive account of the obstacles to development, the list is by no means exhaustive. For instance, he has not stressed the importance for development of the utilisation and improvement of resources—especially human resources. Development is also hindered because the 'resources allocated to science are slender, and the advice of Indian experts is rejected by administrators'.[110]

Many have indicated that factors that impede or promote development are not just economic in character but have 'much to do with human ends or wants, social attitudes, political conditions and historical accidents'.[111]

Development is hindered partly because 'strong and influential groups opposed to reform have been able to evade and subvert it'[112] and also because political power is wielded by the affluent, wherein the distribution of income is within the upper classes themselves. Myrdal thinks that those 'bound up in agriculture must acquire an ambition that today is often missing if they are to raise their incomes and levels of living'.[113] Luxury consumption, a contagion obtained from the affluent West, reduces the pace of the accumulation of growth.[114] Radhakrishnan however does acknowledge that in order to realise

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economic independence, to increase productivity, earnings and exports, 'we may have to adopt the austerity measures which should apply to all, the affluent, the poor, the high and the low'.[115] It would be more appropriate to think of austerity measures for the affluent rather than the poor. Myrdal thinks that all under-developed countries are, though in varying degrees, 'soft states' characterised by 'social indiscipline, deficiency in legislation, in particular law observance and enforcement, a widespread disobedience by public officials, their collision with persons whose conduct they should regulate...'[116]

Another important aspect that should have been considered is the effect that traditional patterns of thought have on the forces of modernisation.[117] For instance, what impact does the caste system have on the introduction of improved techniques?[118] It has also been held that the doctrine of karma tends to make people resigned to their fate and this factor will not help in raising the level of aspiration among those who uphold the doctrine.

Radhakrishnan's assessment of Eastern civilisations—that they 'are interested not so much in improving the actual conditions as in making the best of this imperfect world, in developing the qualities of cheerfulness and contentment, patience, and endurance'[119] and the Indian stress 'on contentment and self-control with regard to worldly ambition' (though laudable) is not likely to result in a revolution of rising expectations as Radhakrishnan claimed, for such traits are not likely to be changed overnight. Radhakrishnan as a renascent Hindu thinker did not want the poor to remain apathetic, and he was not in favour of a 'spiritual civilisation which is one of poverty and disease'. According to Radhakrishnan, the truly spiritual person would be active in eradicating the latter.

It is evident that the difficulties stated in the path of development can be surmounted if we Indians try to fight corruption, promote good leadership and an honest and efficient administration, engage in diligent work, make sacrifices and work for national integration.

Whilst attention has been drawn to Radhakrishnan's omission of various factors in development, note must also be taken of the fact that he did not set out to give a formal exposition of his views on science, technology and economics. The principles elucidated are derived from an analysis and study of his works. No mention has been made of the role of education in society but this will be dealt with in the chapter on

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education. It is sufficient however to note that Radhakrishnan did consider education to be a potent 'instrument of social emancipation by which a democracy maintains and protects the spirit of equality among its members'.[120]

Radhakrishnan's message for the development of people bears a strong resemblance to the one given by Schumacher.[121] It is clear and terse. If the manifold problems of the social order are to be faced, it must be done through self-reliance and corporate effort. Self-reliance is attained by learning from others and learning to depend on ourselves for nothing is given to those who do not help themselves. It is through 'education, discipline, and constant forbearance' that we can hope to achieve welfare.

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WOMEN

Radhakrishnan as a social philosopher is concerned with the nature and significance of the family, with its changes in view of the forces impinging on it, which inevitably entails a study of its foremost institution, which is marriage. As Radhakrishnan considers women to be 'the missionaries of civilisation' and the pivot round which the home revolves he has dealt with the traits of women, their past and present status and their contribution to society.

Traits of Women

Radhakrishnan observes that, on the whole, it is men who are responsible for the image they have projected of women and that 'they have nearly exhausted their ingenuity in portraying the mystery and sanctity of women, as well as their glamour and instability'.[1] Unlike those who refer to women in derogatory terms such as 'misbegotten males' (Aristotle) 'devil's doorway' (Tertullion), 'hellish well' (Kabir), 'weaker vessel' wanting in mental and moral force, he thinks that 'women have more virtues than they claim'. He avers however that in a civilization where physical superiority was the determining factor, woman was called *abala* or weak as she had to be 'protected from the violation of strong men'.

What women unquestionably excel in is their capacity for self-sacrifice and self-control. The fact that 'the stricter code of morality is applied to women is really a compliment to them' and is evidence of their 'natural superiority'.[2] Women are also known for their capacity to love wholeheartedly and even unquestioningly. No wonder Byron remarked that man's love is of man's life a thing apart but'tis woman's whole existence.[3] Everywhere and at all times women are noted for their unstinted devotion, service and as havens of solace. Hence Radhakrishnan thinks that when a man is in deep despair all he has to do is to place himself in the hands of a loving woman.

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A trait of women which he thinks is worthy of emulation by man is their great forbearance. He maintains that if it had not been for the endurance and patience of women several men would have been divorced long ago.

He opines that whilst men are 'engaged more in creations of the mind', on the whole, most women prefer motherhood and usually provide man with numerous comforts in the home.[4] The woman is the educator par excellence. The Zulu dictionary defines man as 'an animal trained by woman. She is essentially the educator of man, both when he is a child and when an adult'.[5]

Radhakrishnan thinks that many a man has not developed his talents 'for lack of a beloved presence by his side'. Women have inspired men in their creative work as was the case with Dante. He regards women as the gentle sex because they are more compassionate than men. He believes that woman is the true votary of *ahimsa* and has to teach 'the arts of peace to a warring world'. He should have however stated that some women are vain, jealous, demanding, cruel and a source of dissension among men.

Indian Women

Unlike Bowman and Spanier who think that 'an individual learns to be masculine or feminine according to the cultural pattern of society',[6] Radhakrishnan maintains that the essential femininity of women 'is not a matter of race or nationality, but belongs to their inmost nature'.[7] Yet whilst dealing with the qualities of Indian women, he acknowledges the role of the environment in conditioning behaviour, or in reinforcing her essential femininity. He asserts that Indian woman remains essentially feminine because 'centuries of tradition' have made her the most unselfish, the most self-denying, the most patient and the most dutiful woman in the world whose pride in suffering[8] is the gift by which a woman cherishes life. He considers Indian women to be idealists who reveal their faith in the reality of eternal values by the kind of lives that they lead.

Early Indian tradition divided girls into two classes—the *Brahmavadins* who devoted themselves exclusively to sacred wisdom and the *Sadyovadhus* or those who got married. Although Radhakrishnan simply refers to the traits of Indian women, the virtues extolled of Indian women refer, I think, mainly to the married women since the time honoured convention for woman here is that of 'marriage and motherhood.'

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As wife, the Hindu woman's role is 'exalted and exacting.' She is meant to complement her husband, to participate and fulfil all the obligations in the home in which role she is called *sahadharmini*. She is also meant to dedicate herself totally and zealously to her husband. Fidelity, constancy and unquestioned obedience were expected of her even if her 'divine' husband was a dissolute character.[9] In fact, the relative stability of Indian marriage and the family can be attributed to the character of Indian women who are 'miracles of dignity, graciousness and peace'. Wadia however questions 'whether the utter helplessness of Indian women, uneducated, unfit to shoulder by themselves the burdens of life, and their complete dependence on fathers, husbands or sons, have not also been contributory factors'.[10] Radhakrishnan contends that woman's degree of patience and tolerance with man's foibles is likely to diminish as woman comes into her own. Similarly, Russell[11] affirms that the saintly self-sacrificing woman belongs to a bygone era.

Radhakrishnan is aware that the Oriental woman is generally considered to be submissive unlike her assertive Western counterpart. He thinks that basically it is woman's nature to give rather than to take, to bear pain silently and with fortitude[12] rather than flinch from it and that if this essentially feminine trait is retained by the Hindu woman it is because of India's social and religious culture. Radhakrishnan did acknowledge that 'every woman must be free to be free to be herself.' However, this seems to be hardly possible if women continue to play the same servile role as they did before.

According to Radhakrishnan, the Indian woman is essentially a mother for it is a vocation which she has yearned for since childhood. The task of child bearing and rearing though difficult and taxing is not only fulfilling but also one for which she is best suited as the love she bears her children and the care she bestows on them is irreplaceable.

Jacobson points out that in classical texts and folk traditions, 'the dual character of the Hindu female emerges definitely, and is seen most clearly in the roles of wife and mother—the wife is the woman under male control; the mother is the woman in control of herself and her children'.[13] Whilst Radhakrishnan would agree to the portrayal of the woman in her role as mother, in his works he is keen on showing that the Hindu wife has generally been regarded as her husband's equal or complement.

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Radhakrishnan maintains that the differences in the sexes are meant for mutual education and do not signify the superiority of either sex. Moreover, these differences should not make one regard the woman as an altogether different species for 'the faults of women are the faults of men and woman is not an innocent lamb, nor is man a devouring master'.[14]

Whilst women are noted for their 'beauty, wisdom and love', men are known for their strength, courage and power. Indian men are *yagna pradhanya* while the Indian women are *tapah-pradhanya* and have lacked opportunities for the expression of their qualities. Before dealing with the factors why Indian women have not developed their potential and the steps to be taken to improve their status, it is necessary to consider the position of women in the early Vedic period which, for Radhakrishnan, constitutes Indian tradition.

Status of Women in Early Vedic India

In his works, Radhakrishnan has shown that in the early Vedic era, women were held in high honour and not denied the privileges granted to men. There were initiation rites like the *upanayana* for girls and they also carried out the *sandhya* rites. The woman could also perform the Vedic duties either as wife or as a maiden.[15] She could also chant the Gayatri Japa. Women were also provided with educational opportunities and co-education prevailed.[16]

He also states that educational facilities may have varied with the caste. For instance, Brahmin girls were taught Vedic wisdom while those belonging to the Kshatriyas were skilled in the use of the bow and the arrow. Besides household skills, girls were encouraged to learn the fine arts.

Women were not forced to marry. Some opted to be Brahmavadines or those 'devoted to sacred wisdom'. Usually, the latter remained unmarried. Mahindra tells us that Lopamudra, Visvavara, Sikata, Nivavari, and Ghosha were so accomplished that the hymns composed by them were included in the Rigveda.[17] Other well known woman scholars are Maitreyi, Gargi and Prathiteyi.

Women also enjoyed property rights, a view shared by Das.[18] The women had a decisive say in the choice of their partners as is evident from the celebration of the popular festival of *samana*, where men and women met freely and the practice of *svayamvara* which prevailed even in the Epic period. Nor was there child marriage. 'The Vedic rituals

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assume that the bride is a grown-up woman, mature in body and mind. Sita, Kunti and Draupadi were grown up at the time of their marriage'.[19]

Radhakrishnan quotes the *Narada smriti* as upholding the remarriage of women in case 'the husband is lost or dead or turned a recluse, or impotent or has fallen from caste'.[20] If the widow married a person approved by her father-in-law she would be given an inheritance but it would be denied to her if she married someone of her choice. Radhakrishnan also tells us that Sati or self-immolation was not approved by the Rigveda. Nor were women condemned for their misdemeanours provided that they confessed their guilt, repented and practised penance.

Mahindra points that whilst the status of the Rigvedic woman was high, we must not overlook the base on which it rested. 'The privileges, the honour the Rigvedic women enjoyed had to be commensurate with Aryan patriarchy... although women were more free and fortunate than their descendants, it was so long as it was not at the expense of their men'.[21]

The difference between Radhakrishnan and others who concur that women enjoyed a high status in ancient India is that he regards the early Vedic practices as constituting the whole of Indian tradition. He thinks that on the whole 'Indian tradition has generally respected womanhood, though occasionally we find derogatory references to women'.[22]

Radhakrishnan regards the degradation in women's status to be a recent occurrence but Berard holds that 'woman's lot began to deteriorate from the time of the Brahmanas'. Nehru too admits that in India 'the position of women during many hundred years was not a good one, neither according to law nor in public or social life'.[23] Now, it cannot be denied that the low status of women which has been perpetuated for hundreds of years is also part of the tradition though it certainly is not Indian tradition at its best. The truth is that Radhakrishnan would like Indians to revert to the earlier Indian tradition of Vedic times when woman enjoyed freedom as a person and was not bound by oppressive codes. He was aware of the various ways whereby women were treated subserviently. Whilst he deplores this state of affairs, there are times when he gives a justification for some of these practices.

Subjection of Woman

In contrast with the great freedom that women enjoyed in the Vedic period, they subsequently lost all the rights to the extent that Amrita

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Pritam was prompted to say that 'woman's life is a description of a journey from the darkness of the womb to the darkness of the tomb'.[24] Even today her birth is not always welcomed by the parents, and especially in the past if a woman did not bear a son (despite the fact that it is the father's contribution that determines the sex of the child) it was reason enough for the husband to marry again.

Radhakrishnan thinks that if a girl's birth was not welcome it is not to be viewed as an injustice to the female sex, nor did it signify a lack of love for her on the part of the parents. Boys were preferred because (1) they proved to be more useful in combating obstacles in the struggle for existence, (2) men alone were eligible to fulfil the obligation of ancestor worship, and (3) there was difficulty in procuring suitable husbands for women.

Regarding this issue it must be pointed out that it was not just the problem of procuring eligible husbands as Radhakrishnan thinks but rather the problem of finding them within the same *jati* and of getting the girls married before puberty that led to the pressure to pay dowry.[25] Though people today have different notions of dowry[26] and may not practise it for all the traditional reasons yet, since the practice prevails in both urban and rural areas and is spreading to communities which did not practise them,[27] it is likely that it is one of major reasons why parents consider girls unwelcome, especially among the poorer sections. 'The financial burden of dowry is one of the main reasons that daughters are less welcome than sons at birth'.[28] Although Radhakrishnan was totally against the treatment of women as articles of furniture or commodities for sale he has not discussed the dowry system as an instance of the depreciation of women.

In contrast with Radhakrishnan's view that boys were preferred to girls because it was difficult to secure the happiness of the latter, it is held that parents hardly thought of their daughters' happiness but rather tended to treat them as birds of passage.[29]

Radhakrishnan however admits that after the Vedic period, women were deprived of initiation and education with the result that they lapsed into illiteracy and superstition. Even if they were provided with a little education, it was with the express purpose of augmenting their value in the marriage market.

He admits that men have treated their wives as baggage and chattel, to be used for their own 'amusement and pleasure'. He asserts that 'man

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has had the run all these centuries' and the wife could not reproach the husband for his adultery for 'his happiness was more important than all our petty morals'.

Radhakrishnan vehemently condemned prostitution and held that 'to justify it on the grounds that it protects decent women, safeguards public health and prevents scandals, is to put a cloak on iniquity'.[30] He thinks it most galling that prostitution and the *devadasi* system are not just a matter of individual failing but are those that receive official sanction. The *devadasi* system 'is not accidental but part of the social code and marriage laws' and should be abolished because of its gross abuse of women.

He maintains that in the course of time, Indian women could not choose their husbands and marriage became compulsory for them. This development arose as a reaction against the exaltation of the monastic life by the Jains and the Buddhists, and other factors such as, 'the tradition of school, and society, small talk and the selfishness of parents who wish to see themselves perpetuated.... the so-called *dharma*'.[31] Goode however thinks that 'for a Hindu woman, marriage was not an option but on obligation and for parents a sacred duty'.[32] Compulsory marriage for women resulted in a lowering of the marriage age and according to Radhakrishnan the advantage of compulsion was that 'it did not develop large numbers of unmarried women who see no meaning in life'.[33] This is contrary to what he states in a later work,[34] namely, that undivided allegiance is demanded of those who dedicate themselves to saintliness or scholarship, which shows that in a system where marriage is voluntary, the unmarried who have the above-mentioned interests can still lead a meaningful existence. But in fairness to Radhakrishnan it must be admitted that what he said was probably true of women at the time when they had hardly any opportunities for self-education, employment and self-growth.

In the post-Vedic era, woman was no longer regarded as her husband's equal. She was subject to her husband for life[35] or rather was a domestic servant and slave of her husband. Whilst the husband was exonerated for his illicit relations, the wife's infidelity was considered to be an 'offence against property', a violation of chastity and holiness. A woman could neither divorce her husband nor could she remarry as a widow.

Radhakrishnan states that till 300 B.C. widows could remarry and the practice of *niyoga* or marrying the deceased husband's brother was

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followed. But he thinks that widow remarriage was opposed because 'ideals of purity and constancy' were to be maintained in sex relations, a view also held by Parasara.[36]

Besides Radhakrishnan, other thinkers like Pannikar, Prabhu and members of the Committee on the Status of Women have also drawn attention to the low status of women. Radhakrishnan is conscious that the Hindu male, on the other hand, was not subjected to any restrictions as the law was in his favour. Adultery of the husband was condoned, he could remarry on grounds that he needed a wife to discharge his religious duties and bigamy (a fact reported by Wadia and Kapadia) was essentially a man's privilege.

Ways and Means of Improving Women's Status

Radhakrishnan holds that 'the fortunes of a country can be traced to the attitudes adopted towards women'. Hence, if our civilization has shown signs of decay it is because of the degradation of woman. It is imperative therefore that women should be accorded the respect, the rights, needs and opportunities that are due to them as human beings. He thinks that it is high time that men realised that 'women are not adjuncts of men', they are not to be treated as playthings of men but as persons with souls, who have a right to their intellectual and spiritual development. Hence there is no need to emphasise the sex of women even as we do not emphasise the sex of men.[37] 'Every woman must have the chance, like every man, to develop the fire of passion, the transports of the heart and the flame of the spirit'.[38]

In order to improve the condition of women, Radhakrishnan suggests that women should be provided (wherever necessary) with rescue homes, hostel, medical and maternity facilities. To promote the economic independence of women, he recommends that women (as daughters and wives) should be given the same property rights as men, namely, of inheriting, of owning and disposing of property. But I would add that a more potent way of attaining both economic independence and personality development is to provide women with both the opportunity and the education to engage in vocations of their own choice. Unlike the past tradition where women were trained in the arts, Radhakrishnan thinks it necessary that women 'should share with men the life and interests of the times'. This shows that he considered woman to be intellectually equal to man.

He thinks that women can fulfil the task of civilizing mankind only if they themselves are educated. Such was the importance

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'Radhakrishnan attached to women's education that he held that if a nation could not afford to give educational facilities to both sexes, the women rather than the men should be given the first priority. He believed in the adage 'educate a man and you educate an individual, educate a woman and you educate a family'.

According to Radhakrishnan, Home Management ('a high art, which does not come automatically') should be a necessary ingredient of woman's education, in view of the fact that the mother plays a crucial role in the child's development during its formative years.

Although he began by saying that hardly anything great can be gained by a woman becoming a wage-earner, nevertheless he gave several reasons why women should be permitted to work. Women may need to work before and after marriage either to support the family or in order to supplement the family income. He concedes that women may feel the need to work during their leisure time or when their children are grown up. Whilst he regards 'homemaking' to be the best profession for women, he thinks that there are varied conditions which may lead a woman to seek fulfilment in other fields.[39] The other fields that he considers appropriate for women are nursing, social work, teaching, the fine arts which should also include textile designing arts and crafts and ceramics—all of which require training. On the other hand, he thinks that there are some occupations that are closed to women such as mining and engineering. Today, however, women have even entered the fields of engineering and aeronautics.

He admits that there are the 'masculine' type of women who have entered the competitive areas of politics and sports. According to him, these women strive to be superior to their husbands, disturb the harmony of married life and 'do not reach the highest of which womanhood is capable'. But I would like to point out that the wife's superior job need not necessarily irk the husband and mar the harmony of the home if the couple recognises that they are joint partners of the home. Moreover, 'disturbance of the harmony of married life' may occur not only in the case of the 'masculine type' of woman but also in any case where the wife holds a post that is of a higher status or which is more lucrative than her husband's. The man's ego is likely to be hurt in a society where for centuries he has been regarded as 'lord and king'.

In a later work, Radhakrishnan maintains that 'women have not only a right to participation in public life but a duty to do so without losing her essentially feminine qualities'.[40] He thinks that whilst she

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should enhance every profession by her 'graces and gifts', she should not undertake any work which is detrimental to her primary role as homemaker, a view also shared by Pope John Paul II.[41]

As some of the world's greatest contributions have resulted from the wholehearted devotion to a noble cause on the part of single men, Radhakrishnan thinks that the same should not be denied to woman, and single women 'should not be put under a social disability'. Choosing not to marry and pursuing scholarship is not alien to Hindu social codes as has been stated in early Sanskrit literature.[42]

In order that woman may continue rendering vital national service and exercise her highest qualities and skills as wife and mother, steps must be taken to improve her status by seeing that she enjoys the same property rights as men, by prohibiting bigamy and polygamy and by permitting her to divorce her husband if certain circumstances demand it.

One way of bringing about these changes is to introduce suitable legislation,[43] do away with ignoble social customs and rigid laws which 'force us into mutilated and meaningless ways of living'. Radhakrishnan thinks that some headway has been made in this respect owing to the work done by social reformers and the awakening of social conscience brought about by the spread of Western ideas. He is aware however that 'social laws by themselves do not constitute a universal panacea for social wrongs and evil', for the law may well be a dead letter if it is not implemented. In order to translate law into reality, there must be a change in the climate of opinion which requires 'disciplined effort, education, propaganda' on the part of men and especially of women. Dietrich[44] indicates that it is because these factors are lacking and old habits die hard, that women's status continues to be poor.

Whilst Radhakrishnan has exalted woman's virtues of forbearance, suffering and sacrifice, he thinks that it is necessary for women themselves to play a leading and active role in bringing about a social revolution as they are aware of the injustice that prevails in the social order. Education and training are effective weapons to do this. He has made no mention of the factors that hinder and promote the education of women. In the former category are factors such as the difficulty of parents in financing her education in view of the dowry to be paid, the attitude that education for women 'is a waste of time as it is not necessary for married life',[45] the fear that 'the more knowledgeable they are the less they are likely to submit to any external control'.[46] But

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Srinivas[47] thinks that if some progress in woman's education has been made it is because Indian men have not opposed it, that tradition demands that women be attended upon by women and also because of the spread of the dowry system.

Emancipation of Women and its Effects

Whilst some are dubious whether any real emancipation has occurred, others think that 'the change in woman has been remarkable though not revolutionary'.[48] Radhakrishnan holds that woman's horizons have widened owing to the support she has received from the law, from society at large in terms of greater opportunities for education and work.

Radhakrishnan was convinced that an educated mother is bound to have an even more potent effect on the child's emotional, social and moral development than an uneducated one. Evans[49] however has drawn attention to the impact that an educated mother has on the child's intellectual formation and aspirations.

Radhakrishnan thought that whilst emancipation for women is essential it is not without dangers such as the emergence of the 'modern woman', who apes man in demanding the same code of morals as men in matters of constancy and inconstancy by engaging in free sex. He thinks that this has resulted in her losing her self-respect and uniqueness. Besides economic independence, knowledge of the methods of birth control, decreasing faith in religion has resulted in 'freeing woman from ties of marriage and the responsibilities of motherhood'. On the one hand, Radhakrishnan observed that the modern woman is 'discontented with the role of child bearing' but, on the other hand, he maintained that the 'desire to reproduce is not a product of social conditioning'. Even though the new freedom and knowledge are risky, Radhakrishnan felt that they cannot wreck man as long as 'we are free to face facts with faith and courage'.

Another issue stemming from woman's education and economic self-sufficiency is the possibility of a conflict between a woman's pursuit of a career and her duties as wife and mother. On the question of woman's economic self-sufficiency vis-a-vis the family, Radhakrishnan has made no comments. Others like Mahindra[50] and Kapur[51] have indicated that even when women earn they have to give their entire salary to the male head of the family or take over the whole responsibility of the household. Opinion is divided on the question as to whether a mother should take up a career or not. Some are of the view

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that if mother takes up a job she will get exhausted and have little time and energy to care for the children. Others are in favour of a working mother as her supplementary income would mean a better life for the family, also a career would help her to achieve personal growth. At first Radhakrishnan thought that woman's energies should be employed wholly in the home and she had little contribution to make outside the home. Later, however, he recognised that women have the need to work but on no account has her job to jeopardise her work in the home which is primary and irreplaceable.

Radhakrishnan contended that the modern housewife has leisure as the tedium of household work is curtailed by the use of gadgets. But it must be noted that whilst gadgets save time, leisure is enjoyed only by a few women who are 'peripheral wives' (who are minimally involved in their husband's work, or in the case of old couples where the wife looks after the home) but not in the case of the collaborative wife where the couple owns the business or in the case of the working wife where she supplements the income or the supportive wife where the wife does home entertaining to help her husband get ahead.[52]

Srinivas[53] opines that if educated Indian women have been able to hold demanding jobs and be housewives it is because of the availability of servants and use of other resources.

In some quarters[54] it is felt that the traditional division of home labour into woman's and man's chores should be totally discarded. 'Each will do the necessary tasks on the basis of who has the time, energy, interest and competence as individuals to do them'.

Lobo[55] thinks that the decision of the wife taking a job should be made jointly keeping in mind the happiness of the home. It will depend on a number of factors, such as the number and age of the children, the demands and satisfaction of the job, the husband's willingness to help in the housework, the wife's health to bear the strain of the work and so on.

Radhakrishnan has not given thought to all these factors nor did he go so far as to envisage a reversal of roles or sharing of tasks between husband and wife for he thought that child rearing and home management are tasks best done and most conducive to women. He was aware that emancipation gave rise to some problems but he did not thereby think that it should be postponed for women alone are the 'missionaries of civilization'. Hence he would agree with Mehra when he says that 'men and women are wheels of the same chariot and if women are not emancipated the chariot will not move forward'.[56]

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6

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Marriage has generally been regarded as the institution by means of which the family is formally acknowledged and by means of which it fulfils its objectives. As regards the origin of marriage, Radhakrishnan thought that at first promiscuity was the fashion and its basis was not 'romantic love and lust' but the subjugation of women and economic necessity. Nevertheless, he viewed marriage as a permanent form of human association, not a mere convention but an implicit condition of human society, even though he held that its ideals may change. Radhakrishnan would agree with those who maintain that one's concept of marriage is coloured by one's culture.[1] It is not at all surprising that in view of his Hindu background and lineage, he has discussed the nature, significance and forms of marriage from that viewpoint.

Radhakrishnan in his interpretation of the Hindu view of marriage indicates that for a Hindu, marriage is normal and natural as even 'the gods are married'. Marriage is not just tolerated but extolled because (i) the stage of the householder is an important stage in life, (ii) monastic tendencies were discouraged till one had a normal expression of natural impulses, and (iii) the person who evades marriage is like a deserter. Nevertheless he admits that a meaningful and significant life can be lived by single individuals though this is an exception rather than the rule. Marriage is a means to the 'liberation of the spirit' and is meant to be essentially 'a fellowship between a man and a woman who seek to live creatively[2] in a partnership for the pursuit of four great objects of life: *dharma, artha, kama* and *moksa*'.[3]

Marriage—Its Aspects and Nature

Marriage has two aspects which are closely linked to its ends. The two main aspects are the individual and the social. 'In its individual aspect it seeks the growth and enhancement of personality through the

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development of a mutual relationship based on sex attraction and affection for children'.[4]

Whilst he considers 'the personal relationship[5] of love and fellowship as having no purpose beyond itself', a relationship where 'we can be ourselves completely', he also thinks that it is meant to foster individual integrity and spiritual growth 'for that adaptation to reality, without which there is no happiness for individual or society'.[6]

It must however be noted that whilst Radhakrishnan has stressed the individual aspect of marriage, this contrasts greatly with the interpretation given by other thinkers who opine that there was not much scope for the personal factor in the traditional Hindu marriage. They argue that since the joint family was the most common form of family organisation in India, it was not possible for the married couple to have 'privacy to enable them to develop understanding and admiration for each other—they play minor roles as family politics are dominated by the older and more experienced generation'.[7] Besides in the joint family the husband and wife were not wholly dependent on each other for affection and fellowship.[8]

Whilst nearly all thinkers affirm the social aspect of marriage, here too the difference between Radhakrishnan and the others is one of emphasis. Radhakrishnan avers that in its social aspect 'marriage is a partnership between the living and the dead'. The living, according to the Hindu Scriptures,[9] have to pay three debts to the gods, to the *rsis* and to the ancestors and they do so by means of sacrifices, Vedic study and offspring, respectively. Marriage is not just a licence for sex but a 'social charter' for the establishment and continuance of the family which is a dominant social force. Radhakrishnan contends that the Hindu view of marriage lays equal stress on the individual and social aspects. But others like Kapadia felt that 'marriage was a social duty towards the family and the community and there was little idea of individual interest'[10] owing to the authoritarian joint family and the dominion of caste.

In so far as Radhakrishnan asserts that 'marriage is not for individual pleasure but cooperation in the fulfilment of duties' such as the propagation of the race, his interpretation corresponds with the one given by Kapadia[11] of Hindu thinkers who regarded *dharma* as the highest aim. But in his works, Radhakrishnan often reiterates that marriage means the development of personality through the growth of

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love and spiritual comradeship and signifies the commencement of an arduous life where the husband and the wife are 'servants of a higher ideal' (though he does not state what this is) which they should strive to attain by subordinating their individual interests and inclinations. He believes that it is the joint quest for an 'overarching end' which alone can bind together the most disparate individuals.

Radhakrishnan undoubtedly regards marriage as spiritual for he maintains that marriage is not for the sake of passion or excitement but for the sake of spiritual freedom (*atma nastu kamaya*).

Implicit in the recognition of the spiritual ideal of marriage is its indissolubility. But Radhakrishnan was aware of the travesty of the Hindu marriage bond where indissolubility was in practice binding on the wife rather than the husband.[12] Hence he advocated divorce in certain grave circumstances and held that 'indissolubility of marriage though ideal is not final'.

Marriage, as Radhakrishnan understands it, signifies a union which is 'a problem not a datum' between two independent and equal persons who strive, despite differences, through mutual help, patience and charity to attain a selfhood[13] which neither could achieve in isolation.

He regards marriage as a challenge for the two persons involved, who, through joint effort, must pass through several hurdles, exercise patience and control and cling to each other despite 'mutual misunderstanding, wild moods and impulses, idiosyncracies and unlikenesses, mutual sins' to evolve into a harmonious whole, although it does not aim at producing identical individuals. So the perfect relationship is not found but has to be created by the married partners.

In order to attain a truly authentic and meaningful relation, adjustment is necessary of various factors—psychological, racial and human—which is possible only when certain moral and religious principles are accepted. Radhakrishnan also describes marriage as an adjustment between 'the biological purposes of nature and the sociological purposes of man' which (though not stated by him) in a sense would refer to the various reasons why people marry, such as 'economic security, parents' wishes, money, companionship, sexual attraction, social position, gratitude, pity, spite, common interests are all possibilities' [14]

Whilst dealing with Radhakrishnan's views on the sanctity of marriage, it must be noted that he uses the terms sacrament (which

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means a symbolic religious ceremony) and sacred (which connotes that which is consecrated to some person or purpose, or made holy by religious association) in a way whereby their meaning is not clearly demarcated.

Marriage, according to Radhakrishnan, is sacred because (i) Hindu tradition upholds the sanctity of marriage by worshipping a god who has a consort,[15] (ii) if marriage is approached in a sacramental spirit then it will not be treated lightly by the parties concerned and it will not be regarded in cold terms of a contract. Marriage viewed in this perspective makes one courageous to face risks and accounts for the stability of Hindu marriages where the wives especially are the ones who uphold the sanctity of marriage. Radhakrishnan thinks that the sanctity of marriage merits attention for on it depends 'the practice of the domestic virtues, the integrity of the family and the rearing of children'.

Das, however, upholds that in former times 'marriage was not regarded as a sacrament. It is no proof that the Sutras, which are admittedly very much later, reckon it among the Samskaras'.[16]

Whilst Radhakrishnan avers that marriage becomes sacramental 'as the spiritual end receives empirical content' others like Kapadia consider Hindu marriage to be a sacrament 'because it is said to be complete only on the performance of the sacred rites accompanied by the sacred formulae'[17] but it is a sacrament especially for the woman, as it is the only one that can be performed for her, whilst the Hindu male can perform several sacraments.

Yet another explanation, given by Mukherjee, which would be accepted by Radhakrishnan in the light of his treatment of love and room for choice in marriage is that 'the mere celebration of marriage before the sacrificial fire does not make it a holy tie. To the extent that love absorbs into itself a larger or smaller part of a person's nature, it acquires a significance of holiness. It is this which really explains why Indian marriage is treated as a sacrament'.[18]

Whilst Radhakrishnan held that there was scope for personal choice in marriage he also observed that there was 'a great element of chance in the best of marriages'. As he considered 'responsible and mature love to be the destiny of the individual and the true aim of marriage', he has devoted some thought to the nature of love, sex and morals.

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Love

Radhakirshnan's treatment of love may be considered in both negative and positive terms. Negatively expressed, he stresses that love is not synonymous with explosive passion, with frenzied sensuality. Such a paroxysm is not to be mistaken for love, for it generally ends in destroying those involved. It is only when the sex instinct is guided by qualities of both mind and heart that love exists. Hence marriage without love is like slave labour and 'physical union without love is the essence of prostitution' whether it occurs within marriage or outside it.

Love is not a matter of codes and conventions for when two souls offer each other, not their worldly status or possessions but their love, such a union is consecrated even though it may not be approved.

Positively stated, love is spiritual as it can be 'disengaged from the senses' where the spirit dominates the beast in us. He regrets that love has been debased by man who uses woman as an object of lust while it is mostly only the woman who practises self-control and self-sacrifice that love demands.

Whilst Radhakrishnan held that love is aesthetic, namely, 'a matter of conscience and good taste', it may be pointed out that 'the Hindu ideal had no regard for individual taste and in fact, feared it, as it might upset the adjustment of the bride to her new household. Thus marital choice was subordinate to group ends'.[19]

Love, as Radhakrishnan understands it, is 'the voice of creativeness'. It need hardly be said that some of the world's masterpieces of art owe their inspiration to the presence of the beloved. Love's creativity is also visible in self-growth since it is 'through love we create a spiritual reality and develop our destiny as persons through the pleasure of the flesh, the happiness of the mind and the joy of the spirit'.[20] Love therefore embraces all aspects of a person's life—physical, emotional, social, intellectual and spiritual.

Radhakrishnan considers love to be a personal matter in which intimate ties, which are more valuable than the satisfaction of animal need or the founding of a family or selfish happiness, are found.[21] In love there is total self-giving and it is the only relationship where 'we delight in inequality'. Since love is a union that has to evolve and mature into a harmonious whole, it demands sacrifice, restraint and endurance to raise it to the likeness of the divine.

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In a manner reminiscent of St. Paul,[21] Radhakrishnan speaks of true love as being eternal, selfless, unquestioning, unconditional; it considers nothing impossible and is ready to suffer all things.[23] Others like James[24] and Sorokin[25] have referred to similar and different qualities of love.

Radhakrishnan's view of love incorporates the three aspects of love as Eros, generally signifying sexual love, as Philia or brotherly love and as it exists between friends and as Agape or spiritual love or 'love directed towards that which does not deserve it—as God's love'.[26]

Women, he thinks, are the greatest lovers as they alone have manifested the qualities of true love. While many a woman has loved without seeking and getting anything in return, he is of the view that love 'requires to be shared and is not something that we command'. It should not go unrequited.

He was also aware of the frailty of human love. Its infidelity is deplorable because 'it attempts to undo what has been the fulfilment of one's personality'. Radhakrishnan also points out that while love is not to be mistaken for voluptuosity, 'the proprietary right to each other' which marriage brings is an obstacle to true love for 'the very sense of security diminishes the passion and blinds the soul alike to satiety and to loss'.[27] So he advocates that the married couple should try to preserve the freedom that prevails among lovers whose actions are not prompted by the necessity and duty that usually characterises the relation between husband and wife.

Several thinkers today have expressed Radhakrishnan's view of the need for preserving the 'freedom of lovers' among the married pair in terms of flexibility, of balance between individuation and togetherness,[28] of openness in their relation.[29]

With all its limitations, love is life's greatest blessing and has a wholesome effect on the individual for it makes him 'inwardly complete and contented'. Moreover, according to Radhakrishnan, it would not be possible to love God if we cannot love at least one person well. It is through love that 'we become wiser than we know, better than we feel, nobler than we are'.[30]

Whilst some maintain that the secret of staying in love lies in the couple being painfully honest[31] with each other and in constantly reassuring each other of their love, Radhakrishnan and Russell think that for its sustenance, human love needs 'the presence of an

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overarching end' or an ideal goal to which the partners wholeheartedly devote themselves.

Love and Marriage

On the question of the role of love as a factor of choice and marriage, Radhakrishnan upholds the well-known Hindu view that love follows marriage for 'we do not marry the woman we love, but love the woman we marry'. He avers that there is an unformulated assumption of the incompatibility between love and marriage.[32]

At the same time, Radhakrishnan states that in marriage 'we aim at the union of two persons who love each other',[33] that marriage is based on mutual sex attraction which makes for a durable and satisfying relationship, that men and women are united in mind and spirit whenever 'he or she, looking deeply into the eyes of the other, sees there the one person before whom he or she, is lost in adoration, wonder and love'.[34] This description is not only couched in the language of romantic love which is supposed to be alien to the Orient,[35] but it indicates that love is the basis and not the outcome of marriage. This view is in contradistinction to the orthodox Hindu view[36] that love ensues after marriage and does not precede it.

In projecting this view, Radhakrishnan was probably trying to erase the impression that in the East sex is impersonal and by citing the instance of *svayamvara*, he was also trying to show that there was room for the personal factor in marriage. On this question some thinkers like Ross, Mehta[37] maintain that under Hindu orthodoxy the marriage alliance was negotiated between families and the individuals concerned were not consulted.

Whilst Radhakrishnan is prepared to abandon the law for a union of hearts yet he would like to abide by what he considers to be the norm in India, namely, 'early marriages, as distinguished from child marriages, arranged by parents, in consultation with their sons and daughters'.[38]

Here again Radhakrishnan's view of the norm of Indian marriage differs from that of Mukerjee[39] and Ross, who maintain that marriage was not a matter of personal selection, and others like Kapadia and Das (referred to earlier) who agree that this was so of all but the early Vedic era. Hence Radhakrishnan's view of the 'norm of Indian marriage' applies to a relatively more recent trend such as the 'neo-arranged' marriages of today where parents select a partner and then introduce the young couple to each other.[40]

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He prefers an arranged marriage to a love marriage since the latter has 'imagination and desire' as its components. These make a man project 'on the personality of his woman a force of attention which has its being within himself'.[41] Since the cause of love is in the lover, he is not likely to view the relationship objectively. He thinks that in this matter where race, family tradition are concerned, a man must not be taken in by a woman's looks but by one who has an 'attractive mind'. But he has not stated the criteria for judging an 'attractive mind.' However he was aware that parental management of their daughters' marriages resulted in lowering the marriage age of girls and in popularising widower's remarriages.

Whilst Radhakrishnan extols the virtue of true love as being a relation where 'we love not the woman or the man, not the position, fortune or employment, not the beauty but the person',[42] surprisingly love is not a ground for marriage but marriage is 'an institution for the development and expression of love'.

Radhakrishnan upholds the Hindu view (also maintained by the Greeks) that marriage aims not just at procreation but at the improvement of the race. So Hindu law required that marriage had to be endogamous[43] or *savarna* (within the caste) but outside the same *gotra* (paternal line) and *sapinda* (certain degrees of kinship)..

For best results, Radhakrishnan advocates that marriage should be between persons of the same caste, stock, social and cultural level, if not the 'good inheritance of one is debased by the bad inheritance of the other'.[44]

However, it may be pointed out that Radhakrishnan has attached importance to only one of the principles of heredity, namely, that of similarity but he has paid no attention to the principles of 'variation'[45] and 'regression towards the mean'.[46]

Radhakrishnan held that as long as the caste system prevailed, both nature and nurture cooperated. This statement assumes that intelligence and ability were confined to the males of the higher castes who enjoyed a rich environment, which was denied to the lower castes. History has shown that in the case of the lower castes, it was the poor environment, the lack of training and opportunity and not just the lack of intelligence and talent that led to their degradation and poor performance.[47]

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Friendship

Closely allied with love is friendship which Radhakrishnan regards as one of the important ends of marriage. It is so because the married couple have need for awareness, for communication, for sharing not only household obligations but also intellectual pleasures, for growth in the community of thought and feeling, especially sympathy, for tenderness, in short, for completeness of experience.[48] The freedom and trust that friendship generates makes for a deepening of one's individuality and Radhakrishnan thinks that if 'we enter into friendships to escape the bonds of individuality, it is a term of self-indulgence'. But friendship and sharing are so essential to marriage that in their absence Radhakrishnan warns, 'escapes are devised' (a view corroborated by Blood)[49] and cites the instance of Pericles who had for his concubine an accomplished woman, Aspasia.

Radhakrishnan has not stressed that the caring central to the love in friendship requires effort, attention, patience, risk, courage and the ability to 'emerge from self-centredness to shared centredness with another'.[50]

Sex

As marriage necessarily has a sexual dimension, no discussion would be complete without dealing with its nature and its relation to morality.

Radhakrishnan contends that in matters pertaining to sex, the Hindu attitude is neither one of 'prudery nor prurience'. Kama, which is one of the ends of human life, is concerned with the 'harmony and happiness in sex life' and all aspects of life including sex, are sacred. Sex life is neither a malady nor perversion but a 'natural construct'. Whilst Radhakrishnan admits that there are a few exceptions like Sankara, Christ, and St. Paul where sexual energy was deflected to spiritual goals this cannot be so for the common run of humanity who in order to attain perfection must 'act out the sex life and normal family affections'.

He has tried to highlight the personal factor in marriage, love and sex even though he adheres to the Hindu view which has no legacy of romance and wherein personal choice is at a discount.[51] But he thought that sexual life should not be impeded by restrictions, except those which are in the interest of the young and society. Being a social phenomenon, it is subject to regulations but these should not be regarded as absolute.

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Sex, according to Radhakrishnan, is not just for procreation but it is also meant to promote the spritual development of the couple. Though it is ideal for couples to practise birth control by abstention, Radhakrishnan does not favour celibacy because it means the denial of a natural need. It is ineffective because it reminds a person of the forbidden subject; it results in 'nervous instability' and endangers morals. But it is pertinent to note that Hindu marriage requires that the married couple practise celibacy soon after marriage 'to offer their chastity as a tribute to their mate'.

Contrary to Radhakrishnan's view of the disastrous effects of sexual repression, others contend that it is not harmful because (i) it tends to express itself in altruistic and creative behaviour,[52] (ii) sex is not the primary need we have thought it to be,[53] (iii) it has not adversely affected the health of celibates—a truth which Radhakrishnan concedes.

Since he was against the sexual abuse of women by men he would agree that 'restraint, decency, self-control and respect are as necessary inside marriage as outside it'.[54]

Sex and Morality

Radhakrishnan thinks that we should approach matters that are human with piety, honesty and, I would add, freedom. He holds that there are two kinds of morality, the absolute and the relative one, and our vision and life are restricted to relative perfection. Hence sex is not intrinsically evil. Sin appears only with the emergence of law. Laws are necessary for human life but if they become sacrosanct and absolute, they become destructive. There should be a common code of morals for men and women and it should be relevant to the age in which a person lives.

We must strive to attain the ideal, which, according to Radhakrishnan, is 'the holy more than the moral, the beautiful more than the correct, the perfect more than the adequate, love more than the law'.[55] This indicates that the man is not made for the law but the law for man. It is both necessary and important to abide by the liberality and integrity of the spirit—a path which is hazardous and requires courage.

Since people differ, Radhakrishnan advocates 'measureless tolerance' in sex matters and human weakness. Hence Hindu law-givers recognised eight forms of marriage. Morality is more a matter of 'mutual relations'[56] than legal ceremony. So even non-marital relations

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are not to be frowned upon in certain exceptional cases, for there is no fear of sensitive persons becoming promiscuous. Although Radhakrishnan has not explained how one can identify the exceptional cases, perhaps his answer would be (i) that we must do always what is conducive to integrity—without it, the individual is worth nothing to anyone, not even to himself, (ii) that the freedom to transgress the law belongs only to those who have risen above the need for sanctions. But he thought that real freedom can only be obtained if it is preceded by self-discipline. Normally, human beings are meant to comply with conventions and the young and immature cannot be a law unto themselves.

So the freedom that Radhakrishnan advocates is not licence, for, like others,[57] he considers casual sex to be dangerous, vulgar, and a sign of moral decay. Sex, he indicates, is not something trivial but it results in memories, love and friendship and should not be engaged in to satisfy lust or mere self-expression. Self-expression is distinct from self-development and self-expression or self-indulgence is not advantageous either 'sexually, socially or spiritually'.

Radhakrishnan maintains that the goal of self-development requires self-restraint which involves risk, heroism, desertion and misunderstanding. The ideal he suggests in sex matters is that of non-attachment whereby we 'use the relations when valuable and forego them without trouble'. The moral growth of an individual occurs when man 'overcomes sexual desires, develops chastity of mind and body and identifies with all beings of the whole universe'. Radhakrishnan would agree with Huxley[58] that if people practised sexual restraint, it would raise the cultural level of society.

Attitudes to Marriage

There are four attitudes to marriage that are implicit in Radhakrishnan's works, namely, those of (a) the rampant individualists who seek mainly to satisfy their passions and consider moral curbs as 'antiquated humbug', (b) the fundamentalists or conventionalists who believe that marriage, however devoid of love, is better than a love relationship unhallowed by marriage, (c) the social idealists who are against a fixed code of marriage in a fast changing world where it becomes necessary to endorse trial marriages, and (d) the sceptics who do not like to revert to the past, but who, having witnessed the disastrous effects of divorce, despair of the future.

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An analysis of Radhakrishnan's views on love, sex and marriage indicates that he is against the individualists in their stress on unbridled sensuality since he believes that 'even as life is not physiology, love is not sex'. Like them he is opposed to the repression of sex but unlike them he thinks that its expression should be organised, not arbitrarily but judiciously. Another respect in which he differs from them is that he would support the violation only of those conventions which have resulted in man's degradation. He is not sympathetic towards the fundamentalists since their stand results in a loss of fulfilment for several women. He agrees with the main tenet of the social idealists that marriage laws ought to be changed though he is not wholly in favour of trial marriage. However, he is tolerant of trial marriage because he thinks that it is the only solution in a society where marriage is not taken seriously. Other like Sammons,[59] and Koller[60] give other reasons such as an 'opportunity to taste married life'; it 'appeals to those who are not ready for a lifetime commitment'.

But Radhakrishnan also states that trial marriage is no better than licensed concubinage. Maturity brings the realisation that mere sexual satisfaction is not advantageous either sexually, socially or spiritually. Others think that it is not possible to try marriage, that this alliance is 'selfishness masquerading in the sacred temple of love'[61] and endangers opportunities of either partner entering into a legitimate marriage.

Radhakrishnan does not adopt the defeatist approach of the sceptics as toil and adversity are part of life, which the couple should be prepared to face with courage.

Monogamy

Monogamy for Radhakrishnan is the perfectly ethical form of marriage wherein the couple have the best opportunity to attain spiritual, mental and physical understanding though Titus would add that this is possible because it is connected with the ideal of permanence.[62] Another ground for monogamy which Radhakrishnan probably considers evident is that society's survival rests on stable conditions for the perpetuation, nurturing and many-faceted growth of children.

Whilst Rama and Sita, Savitri and Satyakama are models of the monogamous union, Radhakrishnan asserts that this relationship is not given but it has to be created by effort, patience and suffering on the part of the married pair. Unlike Malinowski[63] who thinks that the nuclear family (monogamy) is universal, Radhakrishnan maintains that at first

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promiscuity prevailed. Monogamy though ideal is not natural (hence the incidence of polygamy) either to men or women, though the latter are inclined to it because of child bearing. Monogamy in its present state imposes sexual penury, prostitution on many women, several women who serve loyally experience no fulfilment—hence, Radhakrishnan suggests that polygamy should be forbidden and a statute establishing monogamy would be 'equitable only if permissive legislation for obtaining the dissolution of marriage under certain conditions'[64] is adopted.

Western thinkers have put forth 'incorporable alternatives' such as (i) reinvented marriage[65] where the couple lives apart for a while to rekindle desire for each other, (ii) intensifying bonds (except sexual ones) in neighbourhood, and (iii) spouse swapping. O'Neill's[66] concept of 'open marriage' implies that the couple try to achieve personal and interpersonal growth by means of role freedom and sex freedom.

Whilst Radhakrishnan did not advocate spouse swapping, yet he thought that non-marital unions were justified in certain exceptional cases and he resented the types of exclusiveness in marriage that resulted in the wife being treated like baggage. So his notion has some element in common with O'Neill's concept of 'open marriage' though he would not admit of 'role freedom' since he believed that the mother's role in the family is irreplaceable.

Divorce

Even though Radhakrishnan upholds monogamy as the ideal form of marriage, he favours divorce in grave circumstances such as 'desertion, cruelty, adultery, insanity and incurable disease, at the option of either party'. Divorce would be especially beneficial to Hindu women who are bound by the marriage tie for life on account of the law (where men have the leverage).

He maintains that divorce occurs not only on grounds of infidelity but also when the couple is childless, or because of 'a different preference of life' or because of unmet expectations.

He would not agree to 'a no-fault divorce' as permitted in some Western countries because divorce is a drastic remedy meant only for desperate cases. He was also opposed to liberal divorce laws because divorce has dire consequences for the family and society.[67]

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Even if there are clashes of temper, 'resentful brooding over imaginary wrongs', there can be separation and marital problems have to be tackled by means of sacrifice and adjustment which are ruled out by divorce.

Successful Marriage

For marriage to be deemed successful Radhakrishnan opines that the sex urge needs to be expressed so that it leads to the development of love and spiritual comradeship. He thinks that if partners have similar values, aspirations, allied intellectual and aesthetic interests and the ability of sharing sorrow, the task of attaining a harmonious union will be easier. But if partners are poles apart in all respects, the task of adjustment which marriage entails becomes very difficult. Those contemplating marriage should give it serious thought and realise that it is a strenuous life requiring devotion to a supreme end, the acceptance of ethical and religious principles, patient effort and 'tolerance for breakdowns'. Marriage depends on the way it is worked. 'It can be an earthly paradise or an organised hell.'

Some western thinkers hold that the criteria for successful marriage change with time. In former times the stress was on economic goals[68] and not on the nature of the relationship between the couple. Today the stress is on the need for commitment,[69] for openness[70] and for joyousnes.[71]

Though Radhakrishnan has not explicitly referred to these properties of a successful marriage, these notions are embedded in his thought for he maintains that marriage is an art involving both pain and joy, that it is a joint venture with mutual obligations, a relationship not just for stock breeding but marked by sincerity and honesty.

Difficulties Encountered

The following are some of the difficulties faced in giving an exposition of his views. Difficulties in interpretation stem from these sources. Firstly, it is not always clear when Radhakrishnan is propounding the Hindu view of marriage and when he is giving his own views. For instance, with regard to the ideal that the couple ought to pursue he does not state whether it refers to the Advaitin's goal of self-realisation or any other goal which the couple holds supreme. So also in his interpretation of the Hindu view of marriage he has tried to stress the importance of the personal factor (contrary to the exposition given by Mukerjee, Ross and others), the need to retain individuality and

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freedom in marriage, which indicates that his ruminations on the subject were influenced by western thinking.

Secondly, some of his statements can have more than one interpretation. He states, for instance, that we have to approach matters that are human in a spirit of piety which is generally understood to mean pious and religious. But in Webster's dictionary some of the definitions given of piety as dutifulness, pity, would be more in keeping with his thought than the commonly accepted meaning.

So also, in matters of sex he says that one should 'use the relations when valuable and forego them without trouble'.[72] The literal meaning of this statement is that since sex is natural Radhakrishnan favours expediency in matters of sex. But since he also propounds the ideal of non-attachment in sex, it could be that he is referring to the physical urge 'which is not anything deep' although he also regards it as the basis on which a durable relationship is built. Also one may ask whether it is possible for the marriage relationship built through sex, love and sacrifice to be foregone without trouble.

His statement that the 'tribulations of love are admitted to be beautiful, but not moral'[73] could mean either that love is a matter of aesthetics and does not fall within the purview of morality or perhaps it means that one can empathise with love's woes, but they are immoral. Since Radhakrishnan advocates tolerance for men's foibles, he would probably favour the latter interpretation. But Radhakrishnan also considered the aesthetic factor to be an important dimension of life—hence it must prevail in marriage and family life.

This raises the question of the relation of aesthetics to ethics. The classic view is that the two occupy different spheres. Morality is an activity of the will while aesthetic work is contemplative. Croce adds that while art is outside the sphere of morality, the artist is not.[74]

Radhakrishnan maintains that love is a question of beauty, of personal taste and in certain circumstances would subscribe to non-marital unions since he thought the ideal is 'beautiful more than the correct, love more than the law'. But he was also aware of the social consequences of marriage and held that it is only 'by the observance of moral rules that we must approximate the ideal'.

A third source of difficulty in interpretation is the ambivalence of some of his statements (as in the instance just given above). For instance, he explains that in early times promiscuity was the 'rage'

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implying thereby that it was something passing but he also held that promiscuous people 'cannot be changed to something different by any means'

Also with respect to the man-woman relationship, he thinks that we should devise plans which 'are not too ideal' (an ideal by definition signifies the best conceivable) but he also upholds monogamy, which is not natural, to be the ideal. Similarly, he maintains, on the one hand, that because we are limited, we have our sights directed to a relative perfection, so weaknesses should be tolerated. But, on the other hand, he thinks that to live perfectly we need to discipline ourselves and abide by conventional rules provided they do not thwart happiness.

He is against blind observance of the law for he believes that 'beauty is higher than harmony as truth is higher than consistency, so is love higher than law'. Here Radhakrishnan is probably stressing the necessity of abiding by the spirit rather than the letter of the law, that knowledge should be tempered by mercy, that the measure of love is to love beyond measure. However, it may be pointed out that a harmony which signifies a symbiosis has beauty as its component, that consistency is the mark of a truthful man, that law is not necessarily opposed to love as seen in the principle that 'one should love one's neighbour as oneself'.

Instead of viewing these counter-statements as incongruities in his thought, it is best to see the mental seesaw effect in some of them as an exercise in striking a balance between the moral law and social code on the one hand and individual liberty on the other or between the demands of self-expression and the need for self-restraint.

The Family—Its Nature

Radhakrishnan considers the institutions of marriage and the family as prevalent in all societies, both primitive and civilised. From the Hindu viewpoint the household is an 'essential element of the social structure' because the students, the forest dwellers and ascetics all depend on the householder for their sustenance. In order to serve them all, the *grihasta* or householder needs a wife or companion (*sakhi*). The wife is man's *ardhangi* or half-self and without her the home is 'like a wilderness'. 'Male and female constitute a fundamental unity' even though they perform diverse and unique functions. Man is the creator while woman is the lover and child-bearer.

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He holds that the desire 'to reproduce our kind is not a product of social conditioning' yet he states that 'not all women have the maternal instinct'. The roles of wife and mother are distinct and while there are some women who want sexual life without motherhood there are others with little or no sexual desire who want motherhood, and marriage attempts to reconcile these two tendencies.

Radhakrishnan is aware that knowledge of birth control techniques, economic independence (Russell[75] would add expense of children, parental responsibility, career demands) has resulted in woman wanting either to postpone marriage or child bearing or even do without them.

Since marriage aims not just at 'reproduction but spiritual development', the use of contraceptives cannot be forbidden. However, he also stresses that 'the human family is different from an animal farm', that without children a home is like a graveyard and that a declining birth-rate generally heralds a dying civilization.

A child's birth not only aids race survival but has a maturing effect on the married pair. Radhakrishnan thought that child care and rearing are onerous tasks. As women in their role of wife and mother are the chief educators, they should receive special training.

Some like Mead[76] have suggested 'Trial Parenthood' while others contend that professionals, not amateur parents, be entrusted with child care. Calhoun[77] warns that such schemes will most probably succeed only if those in charge of them can give the kind of love given in the family.

Parenthood, according to Radhakrishnan, is to be entered upon only after pondering whether the man and his wife are capable of providing the child not only with conditions of decent living but also with personal care so that the child 'develops his distinctive gifts—physical, mental, ethical and spiritual'. So the mother's role in the home is not ancillary but central as she has to 'tame the savageness' of the entire household.[78] Since mothers are aware of the injustice in society, it is up to them to correct false prejudices and to instil proper attitudes and values. This is vital because children are the future citizens and every child is 'a new adventure in life, giving humanity a chance to correct its past mistakes'.[79]

According to Radhakrishnan, parents must realise that children learn more from example than precept. Parents who are callous towards their children, who are constantly bickering among themselves, are

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likely to wreck their children's lives and drive them to juvenile delinquency.

In order to provide a healthy family life, Radhakrishnan thinks that it is necessary to space children (with a gap of at least three years) and to limit them. In view of the responsibility that the husband and wife have towards each other and their children, it is for the partners to decide jointly whether sex is for their own development or for children.[80] Although self-control is the ideal, he thinks it 'pernicious' to limit the size of the family through celibacy. He recognises that contraceptives have been used by men who wish to escape responsibility and by women to avoid pregnancy and rearing. But as long as parents live in conditions of dire poverty, no one should blame them if they resort to birth control techniques.

Functions of the Family

Although Radhakrishnan has not explicitly referred to the functions of the family, he has shown that it provides for the affective needs and interpersonal relations of its members (a function considered by several[81] to be distinctive and perennial). Koller[82] thinks that this function provides emotional release and Adams[83] holds that it is a crucial deterrent to rapid change. Radhakrishnan upholds the general view that satisfaction of emotional needs is a sound basis for altruism, heroism, sacrifice and loyalty. Whilst he has dealt with parents' responsibilities towards their children he has not shown that the family also provides for the needs of the old.

Since Radhakrishnan thinks that sex is not just for procreation but for mutual development of the couple, he has shown that sex attains a far greater depth within marriage than out of it—as rapture and excitement are replaced by 'trusting companionship, shared work, tolerance and understanding'.

By its educative function, the family civilizes its members, forms character, develops personality and provides an understanding of tradition and culture. Radhakrishnan stresses that the family must not just conserve the past but sow the seeds for the rejuvenation of society.

Radhakrishnan would agree with MacIver[84] that the family's primary functions are (1) stable satisfaction of sex needs of the couple, (2) procreation, care and nurture of the young, and (3) the sharing of a home and all that this involves. Hindu society generally regards the family as an agency for the payment of debts 'to the *rsis* by Vedic study,

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to the gods by sacrifice, and to ancestors by offspring'.[85] Radhakrishnan mentions these obligations but does not stress them. His account contrasts with the one offered by Kapadia and Prabhu[86] who maintain that among the Hindus fulfilment of social obligations rather than personal interest, pursuit of moral and spiritual values rather than satisfaction of sex are the prime motives for marriage.

Radhakrishnan does acknowledge that the family engenders 'social relationships of mutual obligation and service'. He would agree that the family performs the function of socialisation[87] and social placement[88] (though he does not use these terms). He also thinks that the family is meant to prepare the child for effective citizenship and to help create a better social order.

Changes in the Family

In order to assess the relevance and viability of any social institution, the social philosopher would have to consider how it affects and is affected by societal forces. He is aware that several factors have led to its disorganisation such as war. The economic factor is responsible for delays in marriage. Despite his opposition to the repression of sex and his justification of non-marital sex in exceptional cases, he regards blatant individualism 'which makes sexual irregularity popular' as the cause of upheaval in the family. This has resulted in a loosening of marriage and family ties, a loss of respect for parental authority so that the home is replaced by the hotel. Man's lack of faith in moral and spiritual values, lack of sex education and adjustment have led to an increase in the rate of divorce.

Radhakrishnan held that women's emancipation is necessary but he was aware that their claim to equality and economic independence had made many a woman weary of her role as child bearer and homemaker. It did not strike him that this issue could be overcome to a great extent, if the task of child care and house running are shared between the married pair or if traditional roles are exchanged.

He also takes cognisance of the impact that science and industrialisation have had on family life. Contraceptives help to control the size of the family but they have also led to sexual abuse. Today, it may be added, studies in genetic engineering (amniocentesis, monogenic genetherapy, in vitro fertilisation) pose dilemmas for the family.[89]

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The mechanisation of life through industrialisation gives men and women little time to understand each other but it has given rise to leisure which is spent on 'pleasure and personal gratification'.

Mukherjee[90] observes that industrialisation has led to a shift in the functions of the family. Today there are restaurants, laundries, hospitals, schools, social service agencies, recreational agencies. This shift in function applies more to affluent countries with welfare facilities rather than to developing countries where these agencies supplement rather than supplant the home.

Radhakrishnan has not shown how the family has also been affected by political, demographic and ecological factors nor has he referred to the loss of the functions of the family in the economic, religious, educational, recreational spheres which make several think that the family will soon perish. But he is perturbed by the weakening of the marital tie and the trend of free and casual sex that prevails, especially in the West.

He is aware that there are alternatives to the nuclear family such as staying single, single parents, homosexual unions, contractual marriages, polygyny. He warns that we in India should not be complacent and pride ourselves as being superior to the Westerners as deterioration has set in, in our country as well.

Reaction to Changes—Viability of the Family

Reactions to all these forces and changes have been varied. It is best to consider these responses in order to see what stance Radhakrishnan has taken on this issue. Some represented by Sorokin[91] think that as divorces increase and the socio-cultural functions of the family decrease, the family will become a mere incidental cohabitation of male and female.

Others like Streib[92] (referring to the American family) opine that although there have been 'factors that have altered the norms and expectations about marriage and the family', they have affected only a minority and not the majority who continue to organise the family in the traditional way.

Gisbert thinks that even if the family has lost its leadership in certain spheres (economics, education, recreation) we cannot dispense with the family as 'its functions in the social, psychological, moral and economic orders are such that it belongs to the very nature of man'.[93] De Burger opines that the family will survive because it has withstood the

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test of time.[94] Others contend that the family will survive provided that it is revivified with new values which are compatible with present-day realities.[95]

Malinowski[96] thinks the crisis in the family does not mean that it is doomed for it is still the mainstay of society and a major source of spiritual and material progress but it needs improvements such as a single moral code, greater legal and economic equality between the married couple and greater freedom between parents and children.

Though Radhakrishnan has not raised the issue of the future or death of the family, it may be conjectured that he thought it would survive for several reasons. Firstly, because it is founded on the need for complementarity, wholeness and stable intimacy of the sexes, secondly because of the desire for children, and thirdly because of the provision of love and affection to them for which there is no substitute.

But he maintains that if the family is to play a meaningful role in the life of its members and society, it is imperative that education, especially as regards sex and morals, be provided to all, particularly to women. Believing that 'a sound family life is the basis of a healthy social life' he advocated the same steps as Malinowski to improve the circumstances in which the family thrives. He was particularly emphatic that women (who have been exploited for ages) be given the freedom and equality enjoyed by men. Besides, he thought that the status of women is an index of a country's culture and social order.

Conclusion

Although Radhakrishnan has not ignored the social aspect and significance of the family, which is the primary concern of the social philosopher, yet in his works he has stressed the individual aspect of marriage, the nature of the interpersonal relationship between husband and wife requiring the qualities of sincerity, compassion and endurance. Some have felt that growth in interpersonal relations can be a key to the revivification of the social order.[97]

Since Radhakrishnan held that 'the human individual has to be renewed if society is to be preserved' he stressed mainly the individual aspect and said scarcely a word on the joint family which has played a vital role in Hindu society.

Pannikkar[98] explains that the 'unit of Hindu society is not the individual but the joint family'. Ross points out that both the

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environment and the economy promoted such a system. Some like Mahindra, Goode,[99] Kapadia, O'Malley[100] contend that it prevails even today in spite of industrialisation and urbanisation.

To reiterate, Radhakrishnan has regarded the Early Vedic view of marriage and the family, characterised by freedom in the choice of a partner, equality between spouses as constituting the Hindu view. This contrasts greatly with the practice that has prevailed all these years in terms of early, compulsory, arranged marriages, where marriage and the raising of the family was primarily a social and religious duty, with the woman holding a subordinate status in the home. As it was this social aspect that was stressed all this while, Radhakrishnan has done his best to revive the ancient Vedic ideals which for him comprised the whole of Hindu tradition when it would be more true to say that these ideals constitute the best and unsullied part of Hindu marriage.

Radhakrishnan's stress on individualism may be interpreted as an attempt to provide a need in a society which has often been regarded as predominantly non-individualistic[101] or it may be viewed as an effort to break through the hard shell of outmoded and degrading conventions though he was aware that man cannot dispense with codes altogether and that he needs to exercise control over himself. He would therefore endorse a view expressed in relation to the family and society, namely, that 'no individual is or can be completely free. To be a member of society is to accept certain limitations but these need not prevent a well integrated person from developing his own personality. One cannot stress too much the imperative of *balance* which is absolutely essential to the preservation of the profound satisfaction that men, women and children have long found in the family...'[102]

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7

EDUCATION

I

Introduction

Right through the ages, education has been regarded as a potent instrument for developing and transforming both the individual and society. It is evident that an examination of the nature and role of educational institutions constitutes an essential part of social philosophy. As Radhakrishnan was an educationist for the greater part of his life, it is natural that he gave considerable thought to this subject.

The major aspects of his educational thought may be analysed under the following heads: (i) The meaning, necessity and goals of education with special reference to the tasks of the University, (ii) the Persons and Content of the Educational Process with suggestions for its Improvement, and (iii) some Issues of Education.

The Meaning of Education

Radhakrishnan,[1] like Saiyidain[2] and Krishnamurti,[3] does not identify education with knowledge or regard it as a process of 'putting sight as it were into blind eyes' but he also maintains that 'we cannot be wise without some basis of knowledge'. Nevertheless he thought that it is essential to pass from a state of being 'a knower of texts' (*mantravid*) to a state of being 'a knower of self' (*atmavid*) whose essence is spirit. Education for Radhakrishnan is a second birth (*dvitiyam janma*), 'an initiation into the life of a spirit, a training of human souls in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue'.[4] All studies need to be 'harnessed to the science of the spirit' or *brahmavidya*. Education is a process of self-conquest and involves self-restraint, discernment,[5] understanding[6] and wisdom.

Since education is a second birth, it is obvious that it will occur only if the individual himself makes efforts to bring 'his inward nature to fulfilment'.

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Radhakrishnan conceives education to be 'liberating and life-giving' as it is meant to help a person overcome spiritual inertia and to promote sensitivity, which includes responsiveness to the problems and horrible plight of our fellowmen.[7] This view is also shared by present-day thinkers like Friere[8] and Illich.[9]

He is also aware that since we live in a world of tremendous change brought about by science and technology, education must prepare man 'to anticipate needs and meet new situations'. This means that education is lifelong. It is universal and is meant to improve the social order.

The educated man has an open mind, a broad outlook, is willing to reconsider issues and makes his own decisions. He is liberated from the tutelage to outmoded notions, to oppressive institutions and is always willing to learn from others and change whenever it is necessary. Hence education, according to Radhakrishnan, is a dynamic, lifelong, pre-eminently self-propelled,[10] emancipating and altruistic activity.

The Necessity of Education

Several thinkers and Radhakrishnan too acknowledge the necessity of education both for the individual[11] and society.[12] He endorses the Chinese adage[13] that if you are planning for a hundred years, grow men as the quality of life depends on them. Like Naik[14] and Galbraith,[15] he thinks that education is necessary as long as any society is in need of development or of social and economic reconstruction.

Education is meant to enable individuals to tackle the myriad problems of society (such as ignorance, disease, poverty and so on) and to cope with the accelerated pace of change in several spheres (such as agriculture, industry, medicine, transport, communication) which is a characteristic feature of society today.

Besides he observes that today 'the race is to the swift and the strong'. Hence if a nation wants to avoid a parasitical existence, education is essential in order to keep in the vanguard of development, or it runs the risk of becoming a 'back number'. Whitehead[16] too avers that a race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed.

He also thinks that education is necessary to provide the nation with leaders (who will have to be drawn from the youth) who are men of integrity[17] and training imbued with a sense of direction and social purpose.

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It also behoves us as a democracy to provide everyone with education for in its absence man will not be able to rise to his full stature nor will he be able to exercise his rights as a citizen.

If education is to fulfil the aspirations reposed in it by the bulk of humanity, it can do so only if it is directed to the attainment of certain goals. Without them education would be both 'fruitless and wasteful'.

Aims of Education

Educational aims[18] have generally been classified as being either individual or social and these two categories by no means exclude each other. The former stress the needs and development of the individual while the latter focus attention on the demands and necessities of society.

Individual Aims

From Radhakrishnan's works, the individual aims that he considers to be of tremendous importance are those which are well known, such as education for self-realisation, education for character formation, education for purpose, education for individuality and education of the whole man.

The end of education, as envisaged by Radhakrishnan, is self-knowledge. Though man is a composite of body, mind and spirit, he has to live by what is the highest in him, which is the spirit and the latter 'should not degenerate into intellect and/or will'. It is the spirit which is the source of all achievement, creativity, freedom and discipline.

Self-discovery is a process of self-conquest which is possible if a person develops his powers of discrimination and is not swayed by his emotions and by popular sentiment. But critical thinking is only one step in the endeavour of self-development and it must be accompanied by a life of self-restraint and virtue.

According to Radhakrishnan, in the absence of the 'inward restraint of conscience' we are likely to become self-centred, irresponsible and abuse our freedom. Discipline, i.e., self-denial (*tyaga*) is essential not only in controlling our emotions but it should enter any task that we undertake. Supreme wisdom[19] therefore is the outcome of austerity, learning and reflection. This indicates that Radhakrishnan considers character formation to be an aim of paramount importance which necessarily involves the practice of virtue. The virtues that he should want education to foster are those of open-mindedness, dedication and

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detachment. The truly unfranchised person is the man of steadfast wisdom described in the *Gita*—the person who is unruffled and calm in all circumstances. Whilst practising control over ourselves we must practise charity and compassion towards others. If a man does not show love and compassion he is likely to become 'demonic' and devoid of humanity.[20]

Radhakrishnan thinks that compassion 'adds to the inner freedom of the individual and diminishes the load of psychological suffering and bondage weighing on man'.[21] Humility, charity and friendship are essential for the survival of civilization.

Education from the individual point of view will be incomplete if it does not initiate the child to the supreme values of 'love, truth, goodness and beauty' and fill him with a sense of purpose or else he 'suffers from greed, pusillanimity, anxiety and defeatism'. As dedication to a single purpose is the mark of a cultured mind, education has to provide man with a purpose. Whilst in some works, Radhakrishnan understands this purpose as 'the pursuit of truth and its application to improve human life',[22] as the fulfilment of oneself or making oneself an offering to the supreme[23] he also thinks that the purpose has to be discovered by the person himself (a view also expressed by Dube[24]) in accordance with the demands of the age in which he lives.

Whilst the development of the power of discrimination, the practice of virtue and the pursuit of purpose signify growth in the spirit, Radhakrishnan also advocates an all round development of the individual (an aim recognised by several thinkers). He does so on the grounds that man is a trinity of body, mind and spirit. Whilst none of these aspects are to be neglected, he holds that the various aspects must be subordinated to the highest which is the spirit. Education therefore should not only train the intellect, promote technical skill but also develop a person's aesthetic abilities and especially moral and spiritual values.[25] This is in accordance with the Upanishadic view that we should aim at 'the play of life (*pranaraman*), the satisfaction of mind (*manarandam*) and the fullness of tranquillity (*santisamdharm*)'. He observes that due to a lopsided emphasis on intellectual and material needs scant attention is paid to 'the refinement of the heart and discipline of the spirit'.

But in pursuing this aim, Radhakrishnan also contends that due importance must be given to the fruition of a person's uniqueness by

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detecting and developing his talents, observing and handling his limitations as well as by promoting the rights of the 'unfettered mind', which helps him to preserve his autonomy and prevents his complete socialisation.

If some regard the quest for individuality as being incompatible with social demands, Radhakrishnan thinks that development of the individual makes for his uniqueness and the unity of mankind. 'There is no contradiction between seeing the truth in solitude and engaging in human affairs'.[26]

Social Aims of Education

The rationale that may be obtained from Radhakrishnan's works for the social aims of education is that man does not develop and function in a vacuum. He has the responsibility to make his contribution to the improvement of the social order and do his best to eradicate hunger, disease, poverty which affects our fellowmen by love, compassion and service and by overcoming avarice and pride.

Moreover, man must also realise that in a society where there is social injustice, gross inequality and lack of fraternity, individual liberty cannot be preserved. It must also be borne in mind that individual freedom entails social responsibility.

Education seeks to transform the social order by promoting a healthy nationalism and the spirit of internationalism. To foster the former, Radhakrishnan thinks that education should work (by means of discipline and sacrifice[27]) towards a citizenry that is enlightened, responsible and united. Central to this aim is the development of a true patriotic spirit. Several writers,[28] too, have drawn attention to the havoc wrought by adopting narrow petty group loyalty and blind patriotism. It has not only resulted in xenophobia but has also given rise to sectional movements, communal feuds, provincial loyalties based on language, religious and casteist grounds, all of which threaten national peace and unity.

Radhakrishnan thinks that in order to work for national integration, diversity must be subordinated to unity; the basic truths of all religions, namely, the universality of the spirit, the inviolability of personality, the fact of fellowship, the duty of service and the power of sacrifice[29] are to be practised.

Whilst efforts must be made to rid patriotism of 'its half-truths and

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prejudices', Radhakrishnan opines that textbooks should project a true image of the worthy elements of our culture, such as its rich spiritual content, its ability to renew itself and so on. A true spirit of nationalism can also be fostered if one does not engage in activity which is against the national interest.

The other main social aim which is steadily gaining recognition is that of internationalism, so man today must consider himself as a citizen of the world community. Radhakrishnan contends that 'the two principle features of the modern world are that we are members one of another, and that there is no decree of God or man which compels us to be sick, hungry, poor and unemployed'.[30] Hence certain problems in the world can be tackled by a joint pooling of resources. Whilst Radhakrishnan admits that science has brought about a growing interdependence among nations, he observes that we are not yet mentally and spiritually prepared for this intimacy probably on account of our reluctance to shed racial prejudices. So he thinks that we should try to attain 'a unity of spirit before we can get together for political unity'.

The unity of spirit can be realised mainly through education for 'there is nothing national with regard to education. The different countries are provinces of a common republic of culture. Culture is international, science is cosmopolitan in its essence and reality'.[31] Hence it is not surprising that universities honour 'the artistic and intellectual traditions of a variety of peoples'. Radhakrishnan thinks that subjects like international relations, the study and appreciation of the achievements of the culture of different nations and an awareness of the work done by the UN and its agencies should be introduced as a part of every person's general education and should be a prerequisite for training in world citizenship.

Although there are other social aims[32] only two of them—nationalism and internationalism—have been considered with reference to Radhakrishnan's thought. To reiterate, the classification of aims into individual and social does not mean that they cannot overlap as is true of the vocational aim which is vital not only for the individual but also for society. Nor are the two classes of aims incompatible with each other. As Radhakrishnan says, 'all education is, on the one side a search for truth, on the other a pursuit of social betterment',[33] so that the individual's spiritualisation, if genuine, is bound to benefit society.

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It is obvious that the aims of education are closely intertwined with the functions of educational institutions. As Radhakrishnan was immersed in university work for several years he has dealt with the functions of the university.

The Functions of the University

The most obvious task of the university is that of learning, of transmitting and conserving knowledge. Learning, as Radhakrishnan understands it, is a dynamic never-ending process which excites the individual's imagination, stimulates his reflective and critical faculties, enables him to anticipate needs and meet new situations.

Hence the function of the university is to 'blaze new paths, nourish new ideals' which is possible only if individuals have freedom of thought and are trained to think independently and coherently.

When a person seeks truth fearlessly, he preserves his freedom, his curiosity,[34] his creativity, which augurs well both for himself and society. Independent thinking signifies relief from the burden of obsolete and inert ideas, from prejudices and mob passion fed to us by the media. Like Russell,[35] Radhakrishnan contends that the promotion of the freedom of thought is the ideal of the university. 'It has little to do with the protection of privilege or a call to conformity.'[36]

From this it is evident that Radhakrishnan regards the university as the custodian of culture and the critic of the social order.

Universities should strive to be repositories of culture. Culture refers not only to a person's intellectual alertness but also to the ideals presented by thinkers, artists and saints. It not only gives the individual a balanced perspective but binds members together. According to Radhakrishnan, it is the university's function to keep the torch of culture ablaze although it can cause a conflagration or revolution. He thinks that if a culture is alive it will respond to challenges, be they 'physical, social or spiritual'.

He regards Indian culture as 'a palimpsest in which new characters do not entirely efface the old'.[37] Its content is rich since several peoples[38] have adapted and contributed to it. Although Indian culture has had its decadent moments, its ideals are recognised as living truths capable of satisfying the spiritual needs of humanity. Our culture has generally stood for 'harmony, inter-racial, inter-religious, inter-cultural understanding'. He thinks that we have had a long tradition of austerity,

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renunciation, of education and service[39] but others like Shrimali[40] and Shamlal,[41] have drawn attention to the inconsistencies in our culture.

In order to fulfil its task of refurbishing[42] the social order, the university will have to hark back to the past, to discover and retain what is valuable in our heritage and shed what is ignoble in it.

Radhakrishnan draws attention to the strength of the Western mind in being 'free from self-complacency, intellectual laziness and blind faith in ancient wisdom' and to our tendency to live on past glory to our 'love of ease, antiquity and safety',[43] our excessive credulity and unquestioned obedience to authority as well as to our ambivalence, 'passionate loyalty to everything Indian haunted by deep but secret misgivings'. He thinks that the university in its function of reshaping society has to adopt the via media of 'constructive conservatism' which brings 'a blend between traditional values and modern knowledge'.

By virtue of its role as a critic of society and its pioneering spirit in the world of ideals and ideas, Radhakrishnan agrees with the general view that the university has the task of training students for leadership both for public life and for the various professions. To do this, the university should seek the guidance of 'men of letters, men of science', who are found at the universities, and strive to dispense 'the best traditions of human thought and conduct'.

Radhakrishnan warns that in order to fulfil this function the university must discriminate between 'wise and dangerous leadership'. False leaders are ease loving, snobbish, wasteful, destructive, prejudiced and aim at success rather than truth. A wise leader, on the other hand, manifests the qualities of truthfulness, justice, love, compassion, self-control, courage, vision and a sense of purpose. He is willing to improve himself and fight social evils. He is also a person with a well stocked mind and does not merely reflect opinion but shapes it. Radhakrishnan thinks that the performance of future leaders is bound to be coloured by the behaviour of their mentors at the university.

The university also has the responsibility of promoting internationalism—a task for which it is best suited since it is basically a fraternity which knows of no distinctions of race, creed and class.

In keeping with its function of promoting critical thinking, the university also has to work for the propagation of peace. According to Radhakrishnan, the university can do this by trying to overcome 'racial pride, religious intolerance and the lust for power'. Whilst

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Radhakrishnan agrees with Bernard of Clairvaux that universal peace can be attained by 'the disciplined, the dedicated, the pure of heart and the gentle in spirit' others think that 'in educational activities, anything designed to help man live at peace with himself also helps towards harmony among peoples'.[44]

Allied with its job of transmitting knowledge is the university's task of carrying on research. If any country has progressed it is on account of its scholars, its inventors and its research personnel.

Radhakrishnan regards teaching and research as complementary pursuits. If the former deteriorates, research suffers as there will be a dearth of well trained students, and if teachers neglect research their work will become stale and dull. He thinks that research is needed for the modernisation of our agriculture, industry, for the maintenance of public health and also for the conservation of what is best in our culture.

Radhakrishnan concurs with Fletcher[45] that there is greater need for research in science and technology in a developing country but he thinks that we should ward off the temptation of spending a disproportionate amount on the natural sciences on account of their tangible results. Research in the social sciences is important[46] in order to arrive at a more balanced judgement in the economic field, in social relations and administration.

He appreciates the utility value of research in the applied fields but he attaches greater importance to pure research because it has led to both intellectual and moral progress of the nation—a view well expressed by Truscot.[47]

For research to be pursued with integrity, (1) it must spring from a genuine interest in one's subject, (2) the researcher must have security of tenure, and (3) he must have an adequacy of material conditions and requisite leisure for his work.

Unlike those[48] who confine the university's role to promoting intellectual excellence, Radhakrishnan thinks that it also has the task of forming character. To attain this end, the university should strive to equip man with knowledge of himself, of the environment and moral values so that he is 'reverent to eternal values and responsive to temporal events'.

It is for the university to see that its members have a disciplined intellect and will, are men of integrity, vision and courage. Its members

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should manifest understanding, sympathy and strive to promote justice, equality and fraternity and in dealing with problems 'the university man should be unattached without being unconcerned, unambitious without being indolent, warm-hearted without being sentimental'.[49]

Like Jaysuriya, Radhakrishnan is against the university adopting an ivory-tower approach but considers that it should be a service centre which strives by hard work and sacrifice to eliminate inequality. So it should have extra-mural departments, direct research to solve local problems and it should seek the aid and collaboration of government and private agencies which could include commercial and industrial establishments. It should teach men the art of living together, serving one another and make them realise that they 'are not on earth to be happy. They are here to be honest, and good'.[50]

With regard to the controversial question of the university's function to prepare an individual for a vocation (a) some like Kothari[51] opine that it is difficult for a young child to choose his vocation, (b) others like Blaug,[52] who is not averse to vocationalising education, think that no specialised training can be given in formal educational institution and that if they impart general skills it ceases to be strictly vocational, (c) while others like Venn[53] hold that 'education for work must become a respected responsibility for all levels of education'.

Although Radhakrishnan has not specified the nature of the vocational training to be given, he maintains that education must have a vocational bias at the secondary and university level. Whilst he agrees that 'education is for living not just for a job' he nevertheless holds that 'preparation for livelihood is in a sense preparation for life' (*arthakarica vidya*). Vocational education is necessary for both the individual and society as it needs scientists, technologists to contribute to the fund of knowledge, to eradicate poverty and to make economic and social progress.

In his works, Radhakrishnan refers to professional education rather than vocational or technical education. He explains that the latter term was used for jobs where the training required was not exacting whereas in the former, stress was laid on disciplined scholarship and training practised primarily for service, not profit as is the case in business. But he thinks that in our democratic era such a monopoly cannot be claimed by any group but that any useful calling requiring a high degree of preparation and which is pursued in a spirit of service, deserves the name of profession.[54]

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Professional education for Radhakrishnan entails not only the acquisition of knowledge and technical skills but also a sense of social responsibility and respect for moral values. But he recognises that to function effectively there must be proper conditions of work.

He thinks that vocational preparation should commence as soon as the child shows a craving or aptitude for it. The educational system should be such that it promotes, guides and trains students to exercise their reflective abilities, artistic talents and practical skills.

He is aware that this area of vocational education is bristling with problems. There are some who, being misfits at their jobs, are frustrated and engage in socially harmful behaviour. He also states that while there is overcrowding in white collared jobs, there is a lack of trained talent in certain spheres like civil service, politics, teaching and very few take to business and industry. Veeraraghavan[55] holds that our problem is that while there is need for vocational education there is a lack of demand for it.

On the issue of the educated unemployed, Nanda[56] reports that the state of the economy may adversely affect certain trained personnel (like engineers). Coombs[57] points out that the presence of these personnel indicates that government does not know how to utilise the services of the specialists for national development. Sometimes specialists are wasted by being in administration rather than on the field. Radhakrishnan's advice to the educated unemployed is that they should be prepared to take up any job and do it well.

A major problem in vocational education mentioned by Radhakrishnan[58] and others[59] is the anti-manual labour attitude fostered by our educational policy where undue weightage is given to theoretical studies and 'bookishness is the only kind of intelligence'. John[60] explains that the colonial system rated administrative jobs (requiring 'paper shuffling') higher (with better emoluments) than productive and technical posts. Coombs[61] thinks that if more people are to join fields crucial to national development, they have to be given both economic and social incentives. Radhakrishnan considers it the school's business to dispel wrong notions and attitudes towards superior and inferior education and to instil the notion of the dignity and relative value of all work.

He concedes that specialisation is necessary in our age of rapid expansion of knowledge but, like Dongerkery[62] and Fletcher,[63] is aware

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that over-specialisation is likely to result in the splintering of society, in producing men who cannot relate facts to values.

While Radhakrishnan endorses the suggestion of the Calcutta University Commission to see that secondary schools (similar to the Realschule of Germany) provide opportunities adapted to the needs of industry, commerce, agriculture, medicine, engineering and so on, he thinks that it is vital to humanise[64] and complement vocational studies by providing students at the same time with a sound liberal or general education whereby youth would be endowed with a core of values and an understanding of their cultural heritage.

According to Radhakrishnan, the university has the stupendous task of moulding the character of the young, of preparing them both for life and livelihood. It is not only a critic of the social order but it has also to conserve the best of the past, introduce necessary changes to meet the present requirements of society at the national and international level and provide effective leadership to meet the challenges of the future.

II

Persons and Content of the Educational Process

The educational process is essentially an interaction between two persons—the student and the teacher—but in the final analysis the student is meant to undertake his own education.

The Student

The entire educational enterprise revolves round the students who, according to Radhakrishnan, are 'both the builders and the material of the new structure'.

Students' Obligations

The student has the primary responsibility of imposing discipline on himself and controlling his passions. Radhakrishnan believes that lack of self-control results in a deterioration of standards of learning and scholarship, in self-centredness and lack of compassion. The student's task of study and reflection demands intellectual sincerity, dedication, hard work and *tyaga* or sacrifice. As Radhakrishnan explains, 'Truth or repose, it has been said, you may take which you please, you never can have both'.[65]

The student must not rest content with the mere acquisition of knowledge and technical skill but must also render service[66] whenever

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required. Radhakrishnan advocates that students should fight social evils, injustice and protest against religious fanaticism. In all his work, the student should have humility, courage and a cooperative spirit, strive for excellence, place his trust in God and realise that he needs His grace to discern between right and wrong.

Radhakrishnan makes it clear that though students should engage in protest and action in the social field and take 'a proper interest in elections and good government' it does not mean that they have to engage in party politics, in immature political activity when they ought to be preparing themselves for life's struggle.[67] If students have differences with the authorities, they have to realise that the university is meant to be 'a corporate enterprise like a family' and they should not engage in boorish behaviour.

Student Indiscipline

Radhakrishnan realises that student indiscipline cannot be wished away for 'the sun never sets upon problems of conduct'. Although it prevails in several parts of India, it differs in its extent in different parts of India. Student misbehaviour springs from several sources.

Some student indiscipline is due to a person's self-centredness, malice and idleness or is the outcome of surplus energy or because of a lack of opportunity, poor living conditions and financial worries. Radhakrishnan thinks that sometimes bright students get restless and consequently unruly because several of their classmates are not able to cope with the studies.

Besides a fall in academic standards (since educational expansion at the university level has not been accompanied by an increase in facilities), lack of student motivation, tensions generated by exams[68] and lack of support from parents in matters of student misbehaviour are also reasons that Radhakrishnan gives for student indiscipline.

Some student problems arise from the limitations on the part of the teaching fraternity such as loss of integrity and moral purpose, authoritarian methods of imposing discipline, poor teaching methods and so on.

He also indicates that student indiscipline is on the rise because of a lack of personal relationship between the teachers and the taught. This is becoming difficult because 'numbers swamp humanity' and make education mechanical and there is a steep decline in the number of residential colleges. The general dissatisfaction of youth with the older

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generation, lack of understanding and appreciation of our cultural heritage are other sources of student tension stated by him.

Suggested Remedies

Believing that social discipline is the greatest need of the hour and being aware of the dangers of student unrest, he has suggested certain measures to ease it. First and foremost, discipline must not be imposed on students by 'primitive measures or precautionary vigilance', or by force, for authoritarian methods of discipline are not educative. Penalties should be imposed only in extreme cases; students ought to be guided into realising that 'discipline is a matter of individual responsibility for behaviour'. Hence, if a student dissents and assumes responsibility for his conduct, Radhakrishnan thinks that the university must give him a hearing provided that his behaviour is not harmful.

Since lessons of freedom cannot be learned by methods of servitude, in order to promote growth in freedom and self-discipline among students, the university should provide scope for self-government. Self-government provides an excellent training ground for citizenship, social responsibility, development of common ideals and loyalty to the college.

Extra-curricular activities provide yet another opportunity to students to make their own decisions, exercise responsibility, practise fairplay, patience, courage, and grow in trust and cooperation. So also the participation of students in the social and cultural life of the country will enable them to serve society and become aware of its needs.[69] By keeping students engaged in their studies, in extra-curricular and intra-mural activities, and in the scheme of self-government, Radhakrishnan thinks educationists can keep students out of mischief. This is sublimation and is a suitable technique for personality development but Shils[70] has pointed out that we lack a vocational ethic, which poses a serious obstacle to growth.

Radhakrishnan contends that since students are not wholly to blame for their misdemeanours, it is up to the entire community (not just teachers) to set a good example to the rising generation. It is up to the different segments of the community such as parents, teachers, administrators, and media personnel to improve the conditions under which students work, to relieve them of their financial burdens by securing jobs for them and to ensure that 'careers are open to talent, character and capacity, irrespective of all other considerations'.[71]

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The Teacher

Besides the student, the other key person on the educational scene is the teacher, who, according to Radhakrishnan, is the cornerstone of the arch of education; he is no less, if not more, than books and curricula, buildings and equipment, administration and the rest.[72] Even though the student has to become his own educator, he does so with the teacher's aid. Success of the educational process depends considerably on the teacher, for it is the teacher who has to implement aims, and to build the character of the students. Radhakrishnan would agree with Laski when he says that 'at bottom, the quality of a university is always in direct proportion to the quality of its teachers'.

Personality Qualities

A good teacher is one who knows his subject, is enthusiastic about it and one who never ceases to learn.[73] Owing to these traits he communicates his zeal and inspires his students. He has a sense of commitment to his work, derives satisfaction from it and is not prompted to do things for fame or power. Above all, he is a man who loves his students,[74] is able to dialogue with them and feels 'no sense of alienation'.

The good teacher is one who is objective, just, humble and is open to correction.[75] This contrasts with what Whitehead calls 'the self-confidence of learned people' which 'is the cosmic tragedy of civilization'. He is filled with a 'modest attitude, progressive outlook and forward-looking direction'. This list given by Radhakrishnan of the qualities of a good teacher is quite comprehensive—such a teacher does not have to demand respect but commands it.

But Radhakrishnan is aware that in real life, teachers are not paragons of virtue or models of intellectual efficiency, so he cautions that students should imitate only the blameless acts of their mentors. One quality that Radhakrishnan has omitted from his list is a sense of humour, which enlivens teaching and is essential for life. But this omission is consistent with the Indian goal of an enfranchised being as a person of 'steadfast wisdom' (i.e., one who does not feel despondent by pain or elated by joy) which Radhakrishnan wholeheartedly supports.

Functions of the Teacher

The teacher's primary function is to transmit the intellectual and ethical heritage to the young which presupposes that he has knowledge of both facts and values and is aware of the assets and limitations of our culture

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and tradition. Even whilst performing this function, the teacher will avoid a dogmatic approach in teaching, will tend to discourage an attitude of passive receptivity on the part of students and will adopt 'the attitude of free enquiry and rational reflection'. He will try to remove the 'leaden weights' of 'pride and prejudice, passion and desire' which are likely to cloud a student's vision.

Radhakrishnan is adamant that the teacher should get students to think for themselves (i) by placing before them 'the best of what has been thought and said' and then leaving them free to decide for themselves, (ii) by discouraging hero worship wherein the educator is blindly obeyed, (iii) by promoting 'alertness of mind and moral restraint' so that the person judges for himself and acts on his own convictions. Hence Radhakrishnan would prefer the use of tutorials and seminars, which offer scope for 'intellectual midwifery' although he also maintains that teaching should be adapted to suit the psychological needs and interests of the learner. The real teacher is more like the gardener who nurtures the plant than a carpenter who cuts pieces of wood to fit into certain locations or a painter who covers them with an exterior coat of paint'.[76] He has the knack of being able 'not to give pupils what they want but make them want what he gives them'.

As mentioned earlier, research or the quest for new knowledge is a vital function of the university and therefore of the teacher. No one who has ceased to inquire is fit to be at the university.

The true and devoted educator is not only concerned with the child's intellectual development but, as Radhakrishnan conceives it, the teacher also has the obligation to attend to his moral, emotional and social growth as well. Hence the image of the teacher as portrayed by Radhakrishnan and upheld by Peters[77] is not that of the Repressionist who denies freedom to the child, not of the Emancipationist who leaves the child free to do as he pleases but more like that of the Impressionist who influences the child by the force of his character while giving the child the opportunity to grow in responsibility and self-reliance.

Limitations of Present-day Teaching

Radhakrishnan thinks that there is much that is wanting in present-day teachers who subscribe to the receptacle theory of learning[78] and are pre-eminently purveyors of information. He would agree with John that the data fed to the students is often stale and stereotyped and tends to devitalise teaching and to kill interest.[79] Radhakrishnan is totally

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opposed to the prevailing spoonfeeding techniques of teaching and methods which encourage and perpetuate intellectual docility on the part of the learners.

Whilst the teacher's failure to fulfil his duties is regarded as a reason for his loss of status, Radhakrishnan also attributes it to the ambivalent stance adopted by the teacher at the time of the freedom movement when he was torn between his duty towards the youth and his sympathy for national liberation and his apathy to social problems. But he thinks that the status has been partially regained by the contributions that teachers have made to science.

Radhakrishnan is aware that since industry offers better emoluments than teaching, the university does not attract the best people. There are some teachers who lack integrity and a sense of social responsibility. But he maintains that the factors responsible for the denigration of the teacher must be removed. He observes that some teacher politicians and administrators with little or no interest in academic matters secure lucrative positions for themselves whilst those devoted to scholarship go unnoticed and unrewarded.[80] It is generally held that poor facilities, low wages,[81] teaching large numbers, lack of incentives are certainly factors that have brought about a demoralisation of the teaching community.

Radhakrishnan suggests that selection of staff for universities should be on the basis of 'academic distinction, teaching ability, leadership in student activities' whereas John[82] indicates that many a time it is done on the basis of nepotism and on communal and ideological lines. Radhakrishnan thinks that promotions of staff should not be on the basis of mere seniority but on an 'evaluation of the individual's achievement'. He has not suggested by whom and how this evaluation is to be done.[83] As regards retirement he thinks that whilst the usual retirement age is sixty, teachers should be allowed to continue even till sixty-five so long as their intellectual capacity is unimpaired.

Teachers' working conditions have to be improved by providing them with a good library, equipment, a book grant, smaller classes and better salaries so that they will be able to devote themselves to university work. He thinks that the state should not be niggardly in providing finance to the university as it is an asset to the country. But he is emphatic that 'state aid' should not be interpreted to mean 'state control over academic policies and practices' for it is necessary that the

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university retains its autonomy as without it there can be no intellectual progress if the spirit and conditions of free enquiry are lacking.

Role of the Media in Education

Besides the teacher, Radhakrishnan acknowledges the role that the environment, especially the media, has in educating the child. He thinks in the past[84] political and religious authorities used education to propagate their ideologies and the same could be done more efficiently today through the media. Whilst he is aware that we can expand our knowledge through the media, he thinks that since educators have to promote independent and critical reflection among students, they have to make them aware of the assault that the media are likely to make on man's freedom.[85] Failure to sift the data fed to us by the media may lead us 'to surrender our moral judgement and pay obeisance to the cult of the crowd' or we may end up 'by loving the things which ought to be detested and hating the things we should like'.

Films

Radhakrishnan regards films as the most popular of all the media. He has dwelt on their useful and baneful effects as well as on the responsibility of the film maker. He opines that film makers have the responsibility not just to entertain the people but to raise cultural standards, to promote thought on noble ideals, to stir the depths of our being, and discipline our nature. They should not pander to people's tastes and make profit their main goal but should strive to make their films works of art.

Films can be an effective force in bringing about national integration, in breaking down barriers of caste and age-old prejudices. They can be used to throw insight into the ways and ideals of other peoples and serve as a cohesive force for inter-cultural understanding.

Children should be shown themes appropriate for their age like those on science, adventures in space and children's films should not dwell on the 'lurid, brutal and decadent'.

Referring to the harmful effects of films, Radhakrishnan holds that they have led to an increase in the rate of crime, they are likely to cloud our judgement as the data projected on the screen appeals to the emotions rather than to reason. In order to ward off this effect, he suggests that enduring interests should be implanted in men and defences should be built up.

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The Content of Education

One of the major functions of education is to transmit knowledge, help the student to understand the natural and social environment as well as the meaning and significance of his own life—all of which constitute the subject matter of education. According to Radhakrishnan, this can be achieved through the sciences, which help us build up outer organisation and through the humanities, which are essential for 'the development of the inner spirit'.

Science

Science aims at the pursuit of truth, which is no different from the philosophical ideal of the vision of reality. Hence the scientific approach is moral since the scientist carries on his investigations in an attitude of 'freedom from prejudice and hospitality to new ideas'. It is a source of basic spiritual insights as it fills man with a sense of cosmic mystery and reveals the inexhaustible riches of the earth.

Not only does science provide man with a knowledge of his natural and social environment but the scientific method is valuable in any investigation as the student learns to distinguish knowledge from opinion, to weigh evidence, to state and examine an opponent's view objectively.[86] Science frees us 'from the tyranny of words by taking us to the things itself' and is likely to make us precise in our use of language.[87] The triumphs of science reveal its creativity and the grandeur of the human spirit. It has resulted in the great edifice of civilization.

Science has enabled mankind to battle with ignorance, with disease, with poverty. Our economic backwardness demands that we pursue scientific and technological studies. Radhakrishnan therefore disagrees with Blake who thinks that 'the tree of life is sustained by art, the tree of death by science'.[88] But whilst he acknowledges that science is spiritual and valuable, he also focuses attention on the dangers of a curriculum which attaches undue importance to scientific and technical studies to the exclusion of other vital interests.

Science provides us with the tools of civilization but not with guidance for their use. The humanisation of man rather than the mechanisation of life is the goal which is possible by adhering to moral and spiritual values, which, Radhakrishnan thinks, is more likely to result from a pursuit of philosophy, religion, literature and the arts. All sciences (natural and social) give us 'knowledge not judgement, power

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not vision, strength not sanction'. Fletcher indicates that scientific studies are not designed to deal with the unique individual, with anything which can only be known and described subjectively.[89]

Radhakrishnan also observes that a scientific study of social phenomena may lead one to uphold a determinist view of history 'which looks upon social growth as obedience to certain laws'. Another danger of an education that is purely vocational and technical in character is that it is likely to result in 'scientists without conscience, technicians without taste who find a void within themselves... and have a desperate need to substitute something, anything, for their lost endeavour and purpose'.[90]

But the imbalance in our educational system has to be rectified for it has tended to be theoretical and literary rather than scientific. Another urgent task to be undertaken, which Radhakrishnan would endorse, is what Rahman[91] calls 'the integration of science with culture'. This signifies that the scientific spirit should permeate all thinking but it is lacking even among those who serve at the *Sancta Sanctorum* of science itself.

The Humanities

According to Radhakrishnan, the humanities, which comprise philosophy, religion, literature and the arts, are those 'great enterprises of the human spirit' which enable man to understand his inner aspirations as well as ideals which are absolutely essential for life. The study of the humanities is necessary, especially today, because man does not know how to use the knowledge and resources at this command. It is the university's task to produce not only trained scientists and experts but also compassionate men. Hence professional and technical education has to be complemented by education in the humanities.

Radhakrishnan opines that philosophy, religion and literature, which embody 'the wisdom of the ages', are necessary because they 'interpret the higher laws of the universe' and are more likely to bring us wisdom.

Philosophy

Philosophy, like religion, is a *sine qua non* in any course of studies which prepares a person for life not just for livelihood, as it deals with conduct and the ends of life. It gives man a frame of reference which

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provides direction and meaning to life. It enables man to liberate himself from attachment to material goods, fortifies him against adversity, makes him aware of the ethical and spiritual universe and makes him seek 'those things which the world cannot give and cannot take away'. For Radhakrishnan, philosophy is not just an esoteric study nor is it the mere possession of a technique but it is an activity of examining life by doubting and thinking courageously. Like Marx he thought that philosophy does not rest content with a mere interpretation of life but seeks to change it.

Religion, too, along with philosophy and literature, is vital for man as seen in depth in an earlier chapter. But Radhakrishnan has given thought to the way religion should be taught, which will be discussed later.

Literature

According to Radhakrishnan the bond between philosophy and literature is that both of them 'keep up the mind's cherished gift of dream and imagination'. Others like Peters[92] have shown that both contribute to the development of the cognitive perspective.

While earlier[93] he felt that the literary artist should adopt a via media between realism which mirrors life and romanticism which describes utopias, later (1978)[94] he thought that the writer should aim not just at stability but should produce a ferment since true literature has always spearheaded change and contributed to cultural progress.

Literature can provide hope to a sick generation because it arouses compassion in man, it confronts him with his foibles and sets forth ideals. It quickens and enlarges the human spirit, depicts the immense wealth and complexity of man and his relationships. It is instrumental in combating ignorance, prejudice and psychological stress.

Through inspiring language, literature makes for a liberal outlook and in this age of 'linguistic fanaticisms, regional and communal loyalties, group conflicts' it is a potent tool to bring about national unity.

Like Brimble[95] Radhakrishnan thinks that literature can help establish the world community based on the brotherhood of the spirit. This is because literature and art know no boundaries, cut across all frontiers and reveal the greatness of the human spirit. Great literature is universal in its appeal and endures forever. Its task is 'to voice the past, reflect the present and mould the future', a view shared by Dewey.[96]

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Literature is the outcome of 'vision and a passion for something that is not present but ought to be present'. It requires reading, contemplation,[97] leisure and a disciplined life. Radhakrishnan believed that literature is the result of a writer's intense experience or his 'travail of the spirit' and the paradox is that whilst the literary genius 'resembles all, no one resembles him'. Literature can flourish only in freedom and should never be used as an organ of exploitation.

Commenting on the nature of books he classifies them into three groups, namely, those which entertain, those which instruct and those that elevate our nature. It is the last category of books that ought to be read. Books not only make good companions but reading good books provides us with ample opportunity for cultivating the habit of solitary reflection which, he thinks, is an essential condition for raising the quality of life. Books should provide man with spiritual nourishment, remove inertia, criticise divisive trends and plead for tolerance.

Art

Radhakrishnan contends that the content of education would be woefully inadequate if it did not include the arts. He agrees with Read that art 'is the qualitative aspect of all that is made, done and said in a community', and with Langer [98] who regards it as 'the generic term subsuming painting, sculpture, architecture, music, dance, literature, drama and may be defined as the practice of creating perceptible forms expressive of human feeling'.

As life is not just a matter of bread and butter but of developing the life of the spirit, Radhakrishnan concurs with Whitehead[99] that art, like literature, is required to develop the creative imagination and give people vision, which is a necessary antecedent to control and to direction. Art appeals not just to the senses or the mind, but to the spirit. Its language is universal and it is valued for all time. Art does not just seek to entertain or to instruct but to exalt our whole being. For Radhakrishnan art not only creates an atmosphere of beauty but it also enhances our ability to enjoy beauty. It should enable the public to appreciate the true and the beautiful.

According to Radhakrishnan, art has the function 'to blaze new paths to set forth new ideals,[100] 'not to idolize, not to condemn, but to humanize'.

Radhakrishnan, quoting the great Sanskrit poet Bhavabhuti, tells us that though the artist speaks of different moods of laughter, pity, anger,

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love 'they are all variations of a common theme, *karuna*, compassion, love with suffering'.[101] Art, therefore, is not different from worship or from religion for it occurs only when 'heaven touches earth'. It gives us insight into 'the mystery of the Eternal' and it enables us 'to touch the limits of beatitude'.

However, Calhoun[102] points out that art is not just a social bond, not only worship, but that often it is treated as a class symbol, as propaganda, which Radhakrishnan would consider a detraction from the nature and purpose of art. The same result ensues if art lacks creativity and deals with the trivial and superfluous or is purely for entertainment.

If art is to be true to its nature, it requires that the artist engage in hard work, is emotionally alive, intellectually perceptive and thoroughly disciplined in his being. Concentration[103] is an essential ingredient of all achievement and hence of art. All great art is 'an overflow of contemplation, chastity, emotional intensity and heightened vision'.

Whilst these are the general traits of a true artist, Radhakrishnan also indicates that various arts may make special demands of the artist. For instance, music requires that the individual get lost or ecstatic in his music though this may not be required of the dramatist.[104]

Art however cannot survive in 'an atmosphere of neglect, depreciation or contempt' and needs wholehearted support and encouragement or, as Radhakrishnan puts it, 'it has never suffered from overpraise'.

The Unity of Knowledge

From this analysis, it is clear that Radhakrishnan is cognisant of the value and limitations of both science and the humanities. His contention is that in imparting education in them, one must not lose sight of the unity of knowledge. The basis for the unity of knowledge consists in the fact that all fields of knowledge are concerned with truth and beauty, are based on faith and aim at dispelling ignorance, prejudice and unfounded belief.

Science and the humanities declare the majesty of the human spirit and are a means of grasping the Eternal. They exercise the same resources of mind, namely, 'intuitive, intellectual and emotional'. All branches of study involve facts and values and in different degrees require that a person should observe carefully, think effectively and

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judge soundly. Radhakrishnan thinks that all subjects require to be harnessed to the science of the spirit or *brahmavidya*. All these factors testify that science and the humanities converge into a single whole, 'each portraying a facet with a colour of its own, yet each reflecting something of the rest'.[105]

Whilst recognising the unity of knowledge, he thinks that it is essential that man should understand the significance of the respective spheres of knowledge, namely, of those subjects which deal with the realm around us, of those disciplines which help us to put our mental house in order and most especially those fields which dwell on the values of life.

Science and the humanities complement each other. The former contributes to the latter by its method and substance, whereas the latter also inform science and make it aware of its limits. Hence, in order to avert the dangers of over-specialisation it is best that the two interact so that they can grow, complete and correct each other.

Although he has shown the interdependence and complementarity of various fields of knowledge, how every study should give the student 'intellectual vision, aesthetic enjoyment and practical power', yet he thinks that wisdom is more easily gained through the study of literature, philosophy and religion, and that the present-day disoriented society can be healed by the realisation that religion, which is belief in the sovereignty of the Spirit, is an essential part of a complete and balanced life'.[106]

III

Suggestions for Improvement

Although Radhakrishnan has not explicitly set down guidelines for improvement in the method and content of education there are certain ideas which (though not startlingly new) are stressed in his works. For instance, he attaches considerable importance to the personal contact between the teacher and the taught, he views the ideal teacher as a person who inspires the student by his character, by devotion to his work. In his works he has also portrayed the teacher as a gadfly who stimulates his students to think independently, and favours learning by discussions and tutorials at the under-graduate level and seminars at the post-graduate level. Needless to say, these methods lay a premium on the interaction between the student and the educator.

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Radhakrishnan undoubtedly regards religion as an essential means to the fulfilment of man as a spiritual being and hence considers the communication of religion as a definite task of all educational institutions. Unlike Gandhi, who omitted religious instructions from the Wardha Scheme of education because he thought that in practice religions lead to hostility and disunity, and those who think that there is no place for religion in a secular state like India, Radhakrishnan explains that though we do not favour dogmatic or sectarian religion, 'to be secular is not to be religiously illiterate. It is to be deeply spiritual and not narrowly religious'.

In reply to those who think that Ethics is an adequate substitute for religion, Radhakrishnan rightly indicates that qualities such as loyalty, courage, discipline are virtues only in relation to a worthy goal. He thinks that religion should be accorded great value in the educational process because Indian tradition has always felt the need to explore man's inner life, to ponder on certain imponderables such as beauty and mystery of the universe.

It is needed most especially today when stress is laid on training the intellect rather than on bringing 'grace to the heart of man' (*tejas vinavadhita mastu*). Man's ethical and spiritual vitality is at a low ebb and is not at all commensurate with his knowledge and skills. The prevailing bankruptcy of moral and spiritual values and, consequently, the need for them have been observed by thinkers all over the world.[107] Some like Jayasuriya[108] think that in developing countries traditional values have been jettisoned in the process of modernisation and that the valuable elements of our spiritual heritage should be salvaged. Others, like Toffler,[109] point out that with the advent of the industrial revolution cultural relativism has displaced traditional values. He suggests that teachers should not impose values on students but organise activities to enable them to define and test their values.

Radhakrishnan is dissatisfied with the prevailing method of teaching religion. He holds that on no account should religious instruction engage in 'competitive indoctrination'. Students should not be taught to accept creeds unquestioningly as this militates against the method of critical inquiry insisted upon in other fields, and should apply this method to beliefs in their own faith instead of directing it at other faiths.

All schools, even those run by the state, must teach the universal

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truths of all religions. Radhakrishnan is emphatic that since 'instruction is not education' and knowledge does not necessarily entail good behaviour, religion and morals cannot be taught 'in measured hourly doses' but it must be caught by the example of teachers and the school authorities by creating an atmosphere of consecration so that it permeates the lives of those who join the educational institutions.

Radhakrishnan suggests that an environment of religious vitality may be fostered by making morning meditation (act of withdrawing into the depths of our being) an integral part of college life.

Meditation serves to get man away from the distractions of daily living, to make him seek the Supreme, and make him think of the purpose of his existence, 'to give him strength in times of trial and enable him to have the courage of his convictions'. Brunton[110] adds that meditation makes for peace and happiness.

Whilst Radhakrishnan thinks that the teaching of morals and religion through textbooks is puerile since it is likely to make 'thinking on morals and religion mechanical', he strongly advocates the reading of books on the lives of great men, be they thinkers, artists, saints or social reformers. This will quell our fears and fill us with hope, and this could be done in the first year of college. A 'reverent study' of the essentials of all religions would also be satisfying. He suggests that in the second year, there could be a study of a universal character of the world's scriptures followed by reflection on and study of the problems of the philosophy of religion in the final year.

In view of his preference for the humanities in seeking wisdom and gaining insight, it is not surprising that he insists on the reading of the classics (of all peoples), which are really contemporary works since they contain perennial truths, man's profoundest ideals and aspirations. They also provide man with moral strength and enable men to judge issues with calmness and balance.

A study of the classics is likely to widen a person's perspective on life, to cast out narrow and sectarian interests and unite man in the realisation of their humanity. Perusal of the classics acquaints a person with the cultural inheritance of both his own country as well as the rich, spiritual and cultural treasures of mankind.

Radhakrishnan acknowledges that the notion of 'Education through the Study of Great Books' is not new and has been implemented in Harvard and promoted by great minds like Montesquieu, Goethe,

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Newman, Bergson, Belloc and others. The value of the study of the classics has been recognised by Gisbert[111] and Shrimali[112] who think that they are especially needed to tide over the moral crisis that prevails today. Radhakrishnan agrees that since society is or tends to be acquisitive and mechanistic, man has to preserve his essential spiritual nature through meditation and the study of the classics. These two activities should be practised by all, leaders and students. In order to encourage people to read the classics, they should be easily available, at low rates and they must be well printed and attractively presented.

Hence the study of the classics is not to be exam-oriented but life-oriented to bring man enlightenment, solace, fortitude and unity.

Some Issues of Education

Great hopes are placed on education as it is considered to be instrumental in bringing about social and economic advance, promoting equality and opportunities for self-reliance, in developing leadership for the country and in tackling the numerous and diverse problems that prevail in society.

Our present society is egoistic, acquisitive and capable of descending to 'incredible depths of depravity'. Hence there is 'violence, fanaticism and unreason.' The current spiritual impoverishment is due to man's lack of self-control, the 'spread of scientific positivism, and the ineffectiveness of religion'. According to Radhakrishnan, mechanisation and speed have led to dehumanisation and together with the passivity induced by the media[113] have made man no better than 'performing animals'. Despite man's inellectual resources and material goods, he finds that his life is bereft of meaning and purpose.

Besides spiritual degeneracy and intellectual inertia, Radhakrishnan maintains that there are problems which we, as a nation, have to grapple with—problems such as those of grinding poverty, of gross ignorance, of an obdurate tendency to cling to obsolete traditions as well as lack of appreciation of its valuable elements, communal feuds, separatist tendencies, all of which are eating into the vitals of our nation.

He thinks that the teaching fraternity must, to some extent, accept responsibility for the intellectual inadequacy and spiritual illiteracy of those whom we produce, for their acquiescence in social injustices and for their failure of fight social evils. It is for the university 'to make the

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soul of a people.... to provide an outlook on life that is reverent to the eternal values and responsive to temporal events'.[114]

But education cannot fulfil this mission unless it first sets its own house in order. The chief defects of our educational system, according to Radhakrishnan are (1) an unholy reverence for authority with the consequent surrender of our critical faculties, (2) a loss of quality due to the phenomenal expansion in higher education, (3) alienation of degree holders from the vast majority who are underprivileged, and (4) utility-oriented education with loss of its spiritual dimension and stress on specialisation which, though needed, is not without its dangers.

Needless to say that this list of defects is not exhaustive for there are other problems, such as those of wastage,[115] the brain drain,[116] and problems associated with examinations.[117]

Whilst the problems connected with authoritarian methods of teaching and those arising out of the vocationalisation of education have been discussed in the preceding section, a problem which has engaged the attention of several educationists today is whether the quality of education can be maintained by simultaneously pursuing the goal of mass education.

Those in favour of expansion argue that it is justified on the democratic principle that since education is a basic right, educational opportunities should be provided to all, especially those who hail from a relatively poor social background, and, in our country, those who were denied access to education on grounds of caste. Higher education gives a 'new view of life and a new set of values'.[118] It is viewed as an alternative to unemployment[119] and is a means of improving social mobility. On the other hand, others have drawn attention to the disastrous effects of such a policy. It has inevitably led to a tremendous deterioration in the educational standards. The scarce resources in terms of staff, equipment, facilities have been over-stretched so far that it has become a misnomer for education.[120]

The devaluation of education has led to student indiscipline.[121] Indian higher education has resulted in a dual culture.[122] Another effect of this explosion of numbers in higher education is that it has led to unemployment either because students do not find jobs that are suited for them[123] or because the educational policy is implemented without considering manpower requirements.[124] Chitnis[125] observes that investment in higher education has not resulted in development. While

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Goel[126] contends that over-expansion at the university has resulted in the problem of survival others like Dabholkar[127] have warned that it is against national interest to promote a policy which has devalued education to an extent that it cannot compare favourably with international standards.

Suri indicates that 'democratic pressure for higher education has produced an undemocratic situation in which mass education has lagged behind'.[128] Beteille considers the populist pressure that all should be admitted to higher education or run the risk of perpetual backwardness to be a 'phoney argument' for in a society where most are illiterate the potential graduate is already to some extent privileged.[129]

Radhakrishnan agrees that education is the right of every individual and it is not a privilege of the 'nobility, gentry or professional classes' Hence no one should be denied education on grounds of caprice, prejudice, favouritism or economic reasons nor should anyone be discriminated against on grounds of 'religion, community or language'. Discrimination reinforces inequalities that education is supposed to curb.

He clarifies that in a democracy educational opportunity for citizens does not mean identical opportunities, for individuals differ in gifts and interests. It is contended that 'equal access to education is only a necessary, and not a sufficient condition for justice. Equal access is not equal opportunity. This must comprise equal chance of success'.[130]

An analysis of the Report of the University Education Commission, 1949, reveals that Radhakrishnan tries to meet this requirement for he maintains that while ability and interest should be the main factors in dispensing educational opportunity he adds that 'this principle may be adjusted to the needs of society and to human considerations'. (Though the needs of society[131] are recognised as an important criterion for educational planning, its implementation is not without difficulties.[132] Sims[133] points out that one has also to consider what society can afford.) Radhakrishnan is aware that the portals of the university are closed to a great number who are economically backward. He suggests that there should be a generous system of scholarships to remove economic barriers to enable any child to climb to the limit of his capacity.[134] There should also be special schools and training for the retarded and the handicapped so that they will be able to tide over their disabilities and become self-supporting individuals. Efforts must be made to raise the cultural level of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Communities, and

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as they were denied educational opportunity for a long period, they must be given 'additional assistance so as to enable them give their children equal educational opportunities with others'.[135] While Radhakrishnan has not specified the nature of the 'additional assistance' to be given, Dube[136] thinks that 'the first step towards equalisation of educational opportunity lies in improving the dietary intake so that children entering school do not start with a disadvantage'.

But whilst supporting just concessions, Radhakrishnan is against unrestricted expansion at the university level as it leads to a steep fall in standards of education (stated earlier). He believes in an aristocracy of direction and forthrightly proclaims that 'exceptional ability is socially so valuable that it may be given exceptional opportunity'.[137] Quality education is also needed to avoid a loss of public funds.

He is opposed to unlimited expansion in the institutions of higher education because he thinks that 'bigness is almost necessarily fatal to greatness'. So those who cannot benefit from such an education, who lack the required capacity, merit and interest should not be admitted to the university. He thinks that those who violate this principle are guilty of cruelty.

Whilst merit and ability have been regarded by some like Warnock[138] and Wasi[139] as important factors in selection, others like Kothari[140] have held that it is not always easy to decide on merit.

On the question of reservation of seats for the backward communities, Radhakrishnan maintains that only one-third of the seats should be allotted to them for a period of ten years and the rest should be thrown open to all on the basis of an open competition. Hence whilst he acknowledges that the demands of equality are to be met he insists that this should not be done at the cost of the dilution of standards.

In order to restrict and contain the number of students joining college, and to retain academic standards he suggests that students should be eighteen years old, i.e., mature enough to utilise the opportunities given to them. He also thinks that secondary education needs to be overhauled so that it caters to those who cannot or do not wish to continue with their studies.

Apart from the provision of adequate selection procedures for appointment of staff, provision of proper facilities for staff and students, good salaries, incentives for teachers, teaching methods involving student participation and dialogue, proper staff-student ratio as ways of

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improving the quality of education, Radhakrishnan also suggests that in the case of students who attend evening classes the duration of such courses should be extended so that there is no fall in standards. In recent times much thinking has been done on the problem of satisfying the educational aspirations of the vast majority and at the same time striving to maintain standards.

Some have felt that autonomy,[141] educredit,[142] correspondence, self-instruction,[143] open university,[144] multiform education,[145] and delinking degrees and jobs[146] would fulfil the needs mentioned above. Others suggest that it is rather work experience,[147] non-formal education,[148] post-secondary specialisation and opening of universities by people who can pay for them,[149] that would fulfil these ends in a better way. These are all ways of tackling directly and indirectly the proliferation of universities and maintaining standards.

Although Radhakrishnan did not conceive of all these possibilities, he stressed that every person should receive education to suit his talents and interests, which are not uniform, and that the educational system or 'institutions of democracy must be flexible, capable of adaptation to the changing needs and conditions of man—to realise more effectively the ends of individual development and social welfare'.[150]

Rural Education

Radhakrishnan has devoted some attention to the necessity, nature and difficulties of rural education for India is largely a nation of villages. A nation derives strength from the villages but life in the villages is deplorable. Most people in the villages lack basic amenities of housing, sanitation, lighting, water supply, health centres and have poor techniques of agricultural production. This scene however can be transformed by means of government efforts, educational planning and industrial aid. Along with these factors, Radhakrishnan thinks that a purposive attempt must be made simultaneously to provide people with an ethical and cultural education as well.

Radhakrishnan appreciates Gandhi's basic education programme because it 'combines practice in the everyday processes of living and working with formal training'.[151] He thinks that an educational system must be responsive to human needs and values and must not become fixed or conventional. Whilst basic education has done good work at the primary stage, he thinks that it is for the rural university to get rural youth to prepare to enter the mainstream of national life. To achieve

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this, he proposes that we have rural institutes run on the lines of the Scandanavian People's College. Such an institute or People's College would concentrate on practical tasks such as agriculture, household tools, carpentry, cabinet-making, housekeeping, weaving and other useful village work. He also thinks that rural clinics, rural library service, agricultural extension work and cooperative banking could help to improve the quality of life in the village and could become part of the secondary school training programme. The secondary school and rural university could also have short-term technical courses.

Radhakrishnan points out that it is a mistaken notion to regard practical work as inferior. This has hampered India's progress and contributed to poverty. He observes that those with a university education are reluctant to go back to their native surroundings and prefer to take up clerical jobs in the towns,[152] a fact also reported by Nyerere.[153] Sheffield[154] however states that rural people are not in favour of special rural education.

Radhakrishnan also thinks that information about the work done by agricultural colleges should be disseminated to the farmers. He opines that if rural universities are infused with the spirit of Gandhiji's education movement, if the business community and people belonging to the successful professions willingly choose to live unostentatiously, it would augur well for India. Besides the role of industry in development works, rural universities should also build local industry without the profit motive.

Unlike Illich and Friere, who would like to replace the present sterile system of formal education with a new system of non-formal education, of education by conscientisation, Radhakrishnan is not an iconoclast and does not espouse a violent revolution 'which may destroy precious, hard won elements of the great traditions and set back humanity many centuries towards barbarism'.[155]

Adult Education

Adult Education or Social Education, which seeks to promote the 'vocational, personal and civic efficiency' of the adult, is regarded as a crying need by several educationists and educational planners. As Radhakrishnan advocates that the university and rural institutes adopt a service centred approach, it is evident that he must have kept adults in mind in his proposals, but he has not explicitly elucidated the significance and dimensions of a programme of adult or social education which he defines as 'training the conscience of humanity'.

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According to Evans[156] adult education tries to make up what adults missed in youth as regards literacy, basic knowledge in core areas, subjects related to daily living, participation in public and communal enterprises and knowledge of events—national and international.

Kothari[157] adroitly brings home the necessity of adult education for improvement of primary education, national productivity, and agriculture and for family planning.

Although Radhakrishnan has dealt with the necessity of educational institutes functioning as community centres, conducting extra-mural education, extension work and securing the help of local industry and government, John[158] points out that adult educational programmes would be more fruitful not only if experts help but if the adults for whom they are meant participate actively in solving their own problems.

Language

Communication in any educational system—be it formal or informal—occurs predominantly through language. Ours being a land of rich cultural diversity and one where the percentage of literacy (which is an important aspect of learning) is abysmally low, it is natural that the language issue should be a vital one. It involves a consideration of which language should play a prominent role in a nation's development. Radhakrishnan thinks that 'the approach to linguistic differences should not be doctrinaire but pragmatic'. Though a common language would be useful, it is not possible to adopt a single language for the whole country owing to the variegated nature of our people. Before considering Radhakrishnan's stance on the subject it is best to set forth the different views on the topic.

Different criteria have been given to determine the language chosen as the medium of instruction. Whilst Evans[159] thinks that it should possess a complex technical vocabulary, others like Joshi opine that in higher education, the medium of instruction should be one where learning materials are available. John[161] maintains that students should receive instruction in the language in which they are proficient but if they are at the level where they can teach themselves, they could use any language. Radhakrishnan has not given criteria for one language as the medium of instruction because he thinks that in view of our rich variety, this is not possible. He would however agree that English satisfies the criteria (just stated) and on account of its

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comprehensiveness and international status it is essential that university students should be proficient in it.

Those who advocate instruction through the mother tongue maintain that it is necessary because it is the best way to imbibe and learn about one's heritage and acquire values, and is indispensable in resolving all types of local problems. It is also needed on psychological and sociological grounds.[162]

Those who prefer the retention of English argue that academic standards will be lowered if it is dropped without making adequate preparation, in which case one would have to face 'the absence of good texts, inadequacy of vocabulary, under-development of the language as a tool of higher learning'.[163]

Besides, providing educational material in the vernacular is expensive. But English is 'the instrument of contemporary research. It is still the basic means of communication in the sub-continent, the language of conference, the de facto national language'.[164] It is also argued that the promotion of the vernacular is likely to lead to the balkanisation of the country, a danger admitted by Nehru.[165]

In the face of these viewpoints, Radhakrishnan proposes the 'three language formula' which recognises the claims and limitations of the local, national and international language.

He thinks that general education should be in the vernacular for it 'incarnates the genius of the people'. It helps us deal with provincialisms and promotes the literature and culture of various groups. But the Indian Federation needs an official language to promote national solidarity. Radhakrishnan thinks that Sanskrit does not fill the bill because of its 'refinement and extreme complexity'. Although Hindi, a language of 'a large minority', is regarded as the Federal language, it does not have any 'literary or historical advantage over other Indian languages' (like Tamil, for instance) and he wonders whether it will be adopted by state governments.

Whilst it is undoubtedly true that the English system of educatio. and the teaching of English has created a chasm between 'the few who govern and the many who are governed', it has nevertheless been 'a potent factor in the development of unity, supply of fundamental ideas of modern civilisation to modern science and philosophy, and contact with the outside world'.[166] Besides, English is rich in literature of all kinds, 'humanistic, scientific and technical', and students at the higher

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stages of education must have fluency in it, if they are to have access to the 'living stream of ever growing knowledge' and if they are not to isolate themselves from the rest of the world.

He however recommends that efforts should be made to develop the local languages so that they acquire technical and scientific terminology and that they or the federal language should replace English as the medium of instruction for higher education. But he insists that students of the higher secondary school and the university should be conversant with three languages—Regional, Federal and English. If this formula is well implemented, it will contribute to a sound knowledge of all three.

Conclusion

In appraising Radhakrishnan's educational thought, note must be taken of the fact that apart from two works, namely, the Report of the Education Commission, Dec. 1948-Aug. 1949 (characterised by its complete unanimity)[167] and *Education, Politics and War*, where he has formally presented his views on education, the account given in this chapter has been delved from a persual of his speeches and other works where he has dealt with the subject in an informal way. Women's education has not been mentioned as it has been discussed in a previous chapter.

Whilst Radhakrishnan has stressed the necessity of self-control to attain self-discovery, which is the goal of education, yet it is in relation to education that Radhakrishnan makes references to the Eternal or God. For instance, he maintains that education must have a goal (and we must ask ourselves whether it is 'for the purpose of fulfilling yourself and making yourself an offering to the Supreme'),[168] that 'everything in this world is a means of grasping the Eternal',[169] that one must have humility to feel that nothing depends on us but that it is Divine grace that makes us confident[170] and that 'there are people who illustrate for the commonality, the path of spirituality and their behaviour is something which is divinely ordained'.[171]

While these statements run counter to a strictly Advaitin standpoint, of which Radhakrishnan is an exponent, and also militate against his view of the self as being the architect of its own destiny, another way of interpreting them would be that in reflecting on education, Radhakrishnan was not expounding the Vedanta but was

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communicating his awareness that educationists should be imbued with a sense of humility and trust in God.

Although he may not have explored all the avenues of trying to meet the challenge of mass education to the extent that it has been done today, it cannot be said that he has made no suggestions to deal with them. His treatment of the nature, goals, the content of education and of the tasks of the dramatis personae involved is quite comprehensive.

Whilst all may not think that personal contact (which Radhakrishnan thinks is essential for sound education) is possible or necessary at the higher levels of education in this age of the media, yet his emphasis on the need for meditation, for the study of the classics and appreciation of the humanities and his guidelines for running Intermediate Schools and Rural Institutes which may lack the idea of novelty cannot, for that reason, be dubbed as worthless.

He believes that educational institutions are to be reconstructed so as to bring about a better social order which means striving for the ideals of economic justice, social equality and political freedom. To achieve individual growth and social welfare there is no easy road to success; it requires self-control and hard work. But 'it does not matter if we fail in our attempt, for the meaning of life is not in accomplishment as in the effort to grow better'.[172]

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8

POLITICS

As Radhakrishnan has dealt with the nature, relevance and limitations of the major associations of society, he has also cast an equally penetrating glance at the political arena with special reference to the State. He did not set out to give a systematic presentation of his political thought, but a study of his works reveals the following as constituting the dominant areas of his interest, namely, (1) Politics—its inseparability from religion and morality, (2) the nature, goals or functions of the State and its institution—the government, (3) major Ideologies or forms of government such as democracy, dictatorship and communism, (4) the rise of Nation States—their character, importance and danger, and (5) Internationalism as an imperative of the future to avoid war and promote peace.

Politics, Religion and Morality

Whilst some like Valsangkar[1] and Laswell have sought to render politics 'a value free' science on the grounds that the introduction of value judgements impedes scientific objectivity, there are several other thinkers like Gandhi,[2] Kant,[3] Brown[4] and Ewing[5] who have maintained that there is a vital connection between politics and ethics and religion. Not only does Radhakrishnan uphold the latter view but he also contends that since life cannot be compartmentalised there can be no divorce between politics and religion either. For him 'religion, not power, is the basis of society', hence the religious spirit of self-determination, responsibility, tolerance and love should permeate every sphere of life, including the political. Politics is applied religion, as it is the area wherein religious truths are given a concrete shape and form.

He is aware that in actual fact political life is 'full of passion, prejudice, pride, self-interest, love of power', but it needs to be moralised for politics is a branch of ethics and is a means of promoting human welfare and happiness. So all political institutions are meant to

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overcome greed, jealousy, injustice, inequality and to safeguard human worth and promote the good life.

Nature and Functions of the State

Though Radhakrishnan thinks that we should strive for an ideal society characterised by the reign of love, he also maintains that 'civilised society is possible only in an ordered community, where there is the rule of law'.[6] The State and the entire political machinery exist in order to promote the individual's spiritual freedom and his creativity. Hence no state is exempt from morals and whilst it cannot demand that an individual should sacrifice his life for it, it has every right to demand conditions essential for the performance of its task such as 'exercising force on recalcitrant individuals'.

Unlike Deininger[7] and Mackenzie,[8] who justify state authority and coercion on grounds of necessity and order, Radhakrishnan holds that the State requires to exercise coercion because of the imperfection of human nature which is visible in man's ambition, pride, lust, greed. Like Gisbert[9] he maintains that state power is not meant to enslave man but is justified only if it satisfies the demands of justice and promotes the common good. Hence no single person or institution can enjoy arbitrary power for, as Burke explains, such power is bound to meet with resistance.[10]

Radhakrishnan is aware that power, whether exercised by individuals or by nations, is likely to be abused and it makes one arrogant and conceited. He agrees with Fenelon that 'it corrupts the conscience, hardens the heart, confounds the understanding'.[11] Kaplan comments that both the powerful and those over whom it is exercised are subject to corruption, 'as consent gives way to submission and the sense of legitimacy is replaced by fear'.[12] Radhakrishnan maintains that power should be bridled by law, that the incorporation of fundamental rights in the constitution, a strong vigilant public opinion and 'an active control of the religious conscience' can safeguard the individual from the tyranny of government. Though he favours the state's use of force in order to curb human greed and to uphold justice, in the final analysis he thinks that we should aspire to the Brahmanic ideal of non-resistance (renunciation of force would be more apt) and he regards the means as of equal importance with the end. Besides, even necessary coercion 'tempts the user to its unrighteous use and causes resentment in those against whom it is used'.[13] Coercion makes one forget the higher obligation of love that goes beyond the demands of justice.

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As the state and its institutions exist for the development of man—to help him to realise his potentialities, his subjectivity, his uniqueness (provided that by so doing he does not harm others)—the basic task of the state is to procure for its members the key requirements of life: security, food, shelter, clothing and work. Hence it should introduce measures to alleviate human misery and to reduce economic disparity. Failure to carry out essential and equitable reforms is likely to lead to a revolution. He is not averse to the socialist policy of state ownership of public utilities and restrictions of forms of monopoly if the common weal requires it but he also thinks that those dispossessed of their property should be suitably compensated.

According to Radhakrishnan, the state's existence is justified[14] only if it promotes the sanctity, the freedom, dignity and creativity of the human spirit. Hence he suggests that government should provide financial assistance for the arts but it should not encroach on their autonomy. It should not set out to 'dictate beliefs and doctrines'[15] to artists as they only thrive best in an atmosphere that is unregimented. Government, he thinks, stands to gain from 'free, honest, dispassionate constructive criticism' provided by artists, thinkers or men engaged in solitary pursuits.

Although Radhakrishnan has not elaborated on the limits of state activity except in relation to art, some[16] have felt that the issue is controversial because of subjectivity. Others[17] have thought that certain areas which they call 'things that are not Caesar's' are outside the purview of the state.

Foremost among the functions of the state as conceived by Radhakrishnan is the promotion of justice, liberty and welfare. In this he differs from Pennock,[18] who thinks that the unique functions of the state is the maintenance of order. Radhakrishnan stresses that 'the value of a society is to be measured, not so much by the sort of public order and efficiency it maintains, as by the degree to which its ways of action allow freedom of thought and expression, encourage moral decision and contribute to the development of the intelligence and good will of its members'.[19] Like Barker, Radhakrishnan was conscious that 'the humming automation of the state is about us' and would not want 'all our life spin round on the revolving wheels of legal regulation'.[20] But he also admitted that in an organised society no man can be completely free and consequently he upheld the rule of law. He firmly believed that those who exercise power should do so in a just and selfless way and should maintain standards of integrity.

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Forms of Government

Radhakrishnan thinks that 'theories and forms of government are based on the psychology of man' and he has reflected on the nature of democracy, communism and dictatorship with a view to discerning which of them is most conducive to man's development and the social good.

Democracy, as he views it, is a multi-faceted concept. Politically, it is not mob rule but self-government by means of adult franchise which seeks to secure 'the progress of all under the leadership of the wisest and the best'.[21] It is opposed to social and political totalitarianism. The state is regarded as a useful contrivance for the expression of the public will and the basic freedom of 'body, thought and spirit' provided that these do not imperil public welfare. Hence democracy (as generally known) is government based on the people's consent,[22] freedom and the rule of law. Hence in a democracy, minorities are not suppressed. Power, according to Radhakrishnan, should be decentralised and the government's autocratic tendencies must be curbed by a system of checks and balances.

It is an economic approach since it aims at the economic uplift of the masses. Radhakrishnan acknowledges that poverty is ennobling only when it is self-imposed, otherwise acute poverty is not conducive to spiritual development. Hence he thinks that economic backwardness, not caste or community, should be the criterion for special concessions. In a democracy, political freedom must be accompanied by economic justice for 'faith without works is empty'.

Democracy is a method of solving issues by persuasion, negotiation, discussion, adjustment and agreement, by adopting the techniques of peaceful co-existence and cooperative living. It aims at securing its goals through 'persuasion, love, example and moral force'. Like Mayo[23] and Lindsay,[24] Radhakrishnan thinks that the democratic technique of resolving issues by reason rather than by force makes for 'peace, non-disruptive and bloodless change, whether it be in the political realm or in the spheres of social and cultural rehabilitation'.

The democratic method, however, does not mean submission, which, he thinks, is born of despair, nor is it one of appeasement which results from demoralisation but it connotes a flexible mind, a willingness to admit that fallibility is a constant factor in human affairs. The democratic technique however may be slow and cumbrous in its attempt to replace the 'politics of power by the politics of brotherhood'

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As a moral concept it aims at the making of a moral personality and is pledged to the defence of truth and justice. The true end of man is that of responsible freedom with respect for the individual's conscience 'to know, to utter and to argue freely'. Since democracy is an 'ethical temper' it involves the practice of self-restraint; it necessitates the individual's emancipation from pride, prejudice, provincialism, greed, and non-compliance with corruption, nepotism. It also signifies the development of charity, goodwill, patience and modesty.

Hence democracy, for Radhakrishnan, is not just a form of government, it is a scheme of life (as it was for Dewey[25]). 'It is a set of values and standards which expresses itself in every phase of living—personal, social economic, political, international and inter religious'.[26]

Democracy is the recognition of the fundamental right of all men to become physically fit, mentally alert and spiritually alive and to develop their special potentialities. For Radhakrishnan, the real unit of life is the individual and democracy is faith in man to govern and perfect himself and create a society conducive to this end.

As democracy is based on the sanctity and dignity of man which arises from his being 'an embodiment of the supreme', it abides by the Kantian principle, 'Treat humanity, whether in thine own person, or in that of any other, always as an end, never merely as a means'[27] and we should not regard ourselves as the sole repositories of truth. Hence democracy repudiates fanaticism or evangelism in politics, religion and business and is tolerant of dissent as it believes that variety should be fostered rather than smothered. The democratic spirit is one of self-scrutiny, of *vinaya*, which is humility and discipline. In Radhakrishnan's own words, democracy as a way of life 'includes good faith, tolerance, respect for opinions which we do not share, equal justice for all, the power to speak one's own thoughts, to do one's duty as one sees it, to live under a government which he has a voice in making and unmaking, to promote the causes and advance the reforms which command his devotion, however repugnant they may be to the rulers'.[28]

Moreover, he considers democracy to be the highest religion as it maintains the inviolability of the human personality by virtue of it being the concrete embodiment of the supreme. Secondly, like Hoffding, who holds that 'the conservation of value is the characteristic axiom of religion',[29] Radhakrishnan thinks that any quest for values, for virtue, 'arises from resources whose name is religion'.[30] Lastly, its demand for

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an egalitarian society is one that typifies every highly developed religion. Radhakrishnan further indicates that democracy is indivisible even though it is expressed in political, economic, social, cultural, ethical and religious terms.

Radhakrishnan is aware that the values generally associated with democracy, namely, liberty, equality, justice 'are not possessions to be defended but goals to be reached'.[31] It is therefore essential to grasp their meaning and interrelation and to see how they can be realised in the daily context of our lives.

Goals of Democracy

Freedom

Freedom as understood by Radhakrishnan has a negative and positive connotation. Its essence lies in the recognition that 'in the last resort man lives by what cannot be regulated'.[32] This definition is akin to what Berlin calls 'negative liberty'[33] or the 'absence of compulsion', but Radhakrishnan would agree with Mckechnie[34] when he says 'freedom is not the absence of all restraints but rather the substitution of rational ones for the irrational'. Radhakrishnan is not in favour of unbridled individualism but a socialised one where 'freedom of thought and action is permitted within limits of a reasonable social harmony',[35] which is a stance also maintained by Barker.[36]

From the positive angle, Radhakrishnan like Laski,[37] opines that it is the vital means to the good life. Man needs freedom to cope with changing conditions of life, to rectify present errors, to implement new ideas, but above all to improve and develop himself.

Radhakrishnan holds that freedom, whether it be of the individual or the state, is the right of self-determination but it must not infringe upon 'the equal right of every other person or state to the same measure of self-determination'.[38] Radhakrishnan asserts that doing this does not mean servitude. He stresses that freedom has a spiritual quality by which it can break all barriers and he would agree with Milton when he says, 'Know that to be free is the same thing as to be pious, to be frugal and abstinent and, lastly, to be magnanimous and brave'.[39]

A society is said to be free when none of its members are discriminated against on grounds of race, caste, slavery, religion. It is said to be politically free when it is no longer under the domination of a dictator or a class. But political freedom is meaningful only if steps are

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taken to fight hunger, poverty, illiteracy and exploitation which result in human degradation, injustice and inequality. So like the democratic socialists he stresses that political freedom must be given a social economic content.[40] Radhakrishnan thinks that democracy can attain economic justice and social equality if it becomes socialistic in action.

The adoption of socialism does not mean the abandonment of democracy because Radhakrishnan thinks that one should not be concerned with ideologies so long as they achieve desirable results. He observes that 'welfare states may be proletarian and communist states may be bourgeois'. He points out that several democratic countries have become socialist in character by taking steps to bring about an equitable distribution of wealth.

Socialism, as he understands it, is not incompatible with democracy for it recognises human liberty. It does not signify 'an equalisation of all the abilities of individuals' nor does it mean that 'all should be poor or starve equally'. Socialism is based on consent and urges the individual to subordinate his interest to the greater welfare of the nation and the world. It is ethical in character and it seeks to reduce gross disparities without the use of violent techniques and provides economic and social justice. It is in fact democracy in action.

Radhakrishnan explicitly states that socialism is not a ruse to substitute state control for private enterprise. He thinks that if the latter functions with a sense of social obligation, it should have scope to operate. But he does not rule out the possibility of the state running major concerns if it results in social uplift of the underprivileged. In socialism the stress is on 'social vision, the social purpose, the social approach'. Although he states that socialism aims in breaking down barriers between classes, he thinks that the Marxist goal of a classless society is an impracticable one because of the native differences in the abilities and traits of man. Radhakrishnan makes it clear that socialism aims at equality of opportunity for all but not at a levelling of the abilities of individuals. Radhakrishnan's account of socialism is a moderate one[41] which eschews violence and coincides with what is generally called a Welfare State.[42]

Whilst it has been acknowledged that welfare and socialist measures have resulted in a better distribution of wealth, some like Nixon have thought that what his country needs is 'not welfare but work-fare'. Others[43] opine that in a welfare state stress should be not just on economic aid but also on moral and spiritual well-being.

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Radhakrishnan thinks that a welfare democratic socialist state should pursue 'economic security, intellectual life and spiritual freedom' and promote unity among people of diverse creeds, races and regions. Although he considers state control of large sources of wealth as helpful to social fellowship[44] he also stresses that this control should not lead to the loss of individual liberty. So he would agree with Myrdal[45] that welfare and freedom should go together.

What Radhakrishnan has not stressed is the danger of a paternalistic state. It is being increasingly felt that state help kills self-help, that it deprives man of his sense of responsibility[46] and that steps should be taken to see that state control is of a general nature and that direct and active participation of the people is secured in welfare schemes.

Besides adopting socialist and welfare measures to attain the goals of economic justice and social equality which, according to him, are the counterparts of political freedom, he thinks that other factors essential for the realisation of political freedom are cohesion and education.

Equality

Radhakrishnan regards 'equal distribution of wealth and opportunity' to be an aim of democracy. But though he uses the word 'equal' loosely he does not mean an equal amount. He would agree with writers like Lipson, who explain equality as being both identical and proportional. This is so, because he distinguishes between intrinsic and instrumental value.

Since men are the same in their intrinsic value, all men are subject to the law and are equal before the law. Hook[47] thinks that it is essential to consider the 'kind of laws' upheld by a democratic society. It is in recognition of this essential humanness that a democracy has political equality as is visible in adult franchise (a view also held by Benn and Peters).[48]

Radhakrishnan maintains that everyone, even the weakest in the land, should be given opportunities for self-development irrespective of caste, race and religion. In a democracy, position is determined by striving, not by status, and this explanation of opportunity coincides with Sargent's[49] explanation of it.

Radhakrishnan makes it clear that in view of the differences between men which can never be wished away, it is never possible for 'a social organisation to give absolute equality of opportunity and have

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equality of rewards'. It would not be fair to give a musical genius and one who is stone deaf the same opportunities, for the principle of equity demands that 'like cases be treated alike and unlike cases differently. Injustice will result by treating equals unequally or by treating unequals equally'.[50] As Deininger explains, 'Equality of opportunity treated as a need or a right, or as both, need not involve the view that men are entitled equally to succeed in what they undertake'.[51]

But if Radhakrishnan is adamant in stressing that democracy is a society of equals though different, he is equally vociferous in proclaiming that the responsibility of each for all has to be recognised and that disparities have to be diminished by the suppression of socially irresponsible ownership and 'production for profit must be replaced by production for use', which means that the urgent claims of all have to be met. Hence no one should be deprived of necessities in order to provide luxuries for a few. This study indicates that Radhakrishnan views equality as a matter of proportion, which involves both a process of levelling up and that of levelling down.

Justice

Radhakrishnan draws attention to the fact that justice being primary, it has been regarded as the first goal of the Indian Constitution.[52] The concept of justice is multi-dimensional, namely, it is social, economic, political. Radhakrishnan thinks that political freedom is meant to serve the ends of justice.

In recent times much stress has been laid on social justice by several thinkers who have given varying definitions of it (though there may be a core of affinity as well).

Some like Clump[53] and Pope Pius XI[54] think that social justice is a two-sided process which deals with what is owed by the individual to the common good and what is due to members by the community. Feinberg[55] regards social justice as being synonymous with the maxim of equity that 'like cases are to be treated alike and different cases to be treated differently'. Whilst some like Valsangkar[56] and others consider it to be a 'combination of political liberty with economic equality' others consider it to be a blend of legal and economic justice. But most agree that it has to do with the dispersion of economic power, the prevention of exploitation or, as Miller[57] puts it, with 'the distribution of benefits'.

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Radhakrishnan defines social justice 'not as a scheme of rights but one of opportunities'. This however does not mean the negation of legal justice, for he firmly maintains that no one should overlook 'intolerable unjust and outrageous wrong' and that justice must have power or else it is impotent, and power without it is tyranny.[58] Elsewhere[59] Radhakrishnan says that political freedom and economic justice are two sides of democracy, which are both essential. His notion of economic justice has already been discussed under equality.

Although Radhakrishnan has not specifically dealt with the question of the criteria of justice, there are two criteria that he upholds. One is the principle of redress as propounded by Rawls,[60] according to which those with undeserved inequalities of birth and natural endowment should be given additional facilities to develop themselves. Radhakrishnan states that they deserve these concessions because of their need and not on account of their class, race or religion. Radhakrishnan also gives weightage to the principle of merit, since he consistently maintains that 'career should be open to talent and striving' and that excellence and hard work must always be recognised, never compromised and must be given their due place.

Is Radhakrishnan a Liberalist? Opinions differ on the nature of liberalism. Dworkin contends that 'liberals tend relatively to favour equality more and liberty less than conservatives do-the liberal becomes the man in the middle, which explains why liberalism is so often now considered wishy washy'.[61] Others think that liberalism favours liberty, that 'error is far better than the suppression of error'. Radhakrishnan's exposition of democracy reveals that he upholds equality and would want it to be socialistic to fulfil this end but at the same time he is equally careful to stress that on no account should equality deprive man of his freedom to grow into a responsible individual nor should it stunt the development of his personality.

Radhakrishnan can also be regarded as a liberalist on the grounds given by Sargent, namely, as having a tendency to favour change, possessing faith in human reason, being willing to use the government to improve the human condition, favouring individual freedom and being ambivalent regarding human nature.

Merits and Demerits of Democracy

Like any other form of government, democracy too has its assets and limitations. One of the advantages that Radhakrishnan claims for

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democracy is that it makes for social peace and stability 'as all criticism and discontent are ventilated by the share which voters have in the directiron of affairs'.[62] Whilst there is no universal agreement[63] as to the extent of participation by voters, it is generally held that democracy makes for a peaceful change in government. It is also acknowledged[64] that it tries to settle issues by negotiations and discussions.

Democracy is valuable, according to Radhakrishnan, even though it may be inefficient and expensive because it educates men for responsibility (a view upheld by Raphael[65]).

It is in keeping with the dignity of man and safeguards the 'freedom of the human spirit' since it guarantees civil and political liberties to its members, and this has usually been regarded as an essential feature of democracy.[66] Radhakrishnan thinks that parliamentary democracy is the best form of government as it is 'a happy blend of dignity and stability' and in it both, the majority as well as the minority, have rights and obligations.

This does not mean that he is not aware of the criticisms that have generally been made of democracy. He quotes Bryce's criticism that democracy is feasible in small states. He contends that it does not promote the rule of the best men. It is ruled by a mysterious caucus and elected representatives are tools of the machine of the state, so he concludes 'the discussion is unreal, the debate unnecessary and democracy is only a name'.[67] He mentions other impediments to the proper functioning of democracy which, for the sake of convenience, may be divided into two groups, namely, those which spring from man's nature of weaknesses, and those that result from a breakdown of democratic institutions.

As the fallibility of man is a constant factor in human affairs, democracy has its limitations because voters are ignorant, unenlightened, unable to choose their leaders judiciously. Leaders, on the other hand, are neither wise nor intelligent. They lack judgement, the power of discernment and, above all, integrity, as indicated by Joad.[68]

Radhakrishnan thinks that discontent with democracy also stems from the fact that it has not been able to tackle the problem of grave economic inequality, in the absence of which citizens can hardly be expected to take an active, honest part in public affairs.

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He denounces the tendency on the part of several democracies, even in Europe, to lean towards absolutism and centralisation, in which case we must heed Laski's[69] warning that 'centralisation makes for uniformity; it lacks the genius of time and place'. Attempts to pressurise individuals in various ways, to curtail their liberties by muzzling the press and to 'standardise thought and belief' really spell the end of independent and creative thinking. Benn and Peters[70] adroitly contend that in a democracy we never have the right to suspend judgement. Weldon[71] maintains that the democratic approach is not common among developing countries which tend to favour the organic state since it is in the line of least resistance. Radhakrishnan holds that if democracy does not arrest the drift towards authoritarianism it will soon die for it is founded on respect for the individual and the political life of the community depends on the number of independent minds and wills which comprise it.

Nevertheless, he would agree with Joad[72] that despite its failings 'because a good thing is not always good we have no excuse for prefering a bad'.

Indian Democracy—Its Nature, Defects and Resuscitation

Radhakrishnan maintains that like other democracies, India also seeks to attain the values of justice, liberty and equality. He also states that Indian democracy is founded on the principles of 'national unity, secularism and peaceful social change'. It aims at the production of a non-communal scientific welfare state which is a commitment to socialism with the clear understanding that though it involves planning, it will have to 'operate within the framework of political democracy'.

He thinks that Indian democracy is based on unity, in the sense that its teeming millions of people belonging to different races and creeds are bound together under a simple administration, system of law, independent judiciary. Nehru,[73] however, referred to India's geographic and cultural unity. Radhakrishnan was conscious that we lack unity on account of communal, religious, linguistic and other internal divisions with the result that 'intolerance is the bane of Indian society'. This could be interpreted to mean that while we have the trappings of a democracy we have not imbued its spirit. No wonder Churchill remarked, 'India is a geographical term, it is no more an united nation than the Equator.'[74]

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Radhakrishnan is aware that the adoption of democracy from Britain has all the difficulties attendant on grafting but later he remarks that the democratic spirit has entered the bloodstream of India's history. Though he acknowledges India's debt to Britain he also maintains that the democratic method has always appealed to the Indian mind with its long tradition of tolerance (a trait acknowledged by others[75]), non-violence and individual freedom.

But opinion on the question of India's tradition for individual freedom is divided in respect of village autonomy and the caste systems. While some see the village panchayat as an instance of decentralisation, they have not touched on the question of individual liberty. Gandhi idolised the panchayati system while Ambedkar condemned it and observed that though it has withstood the onslaught of time it has survived 'as a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow mindedness and communalism'.[76]

Radhakrishnan says that in 'the administration of villages and towns caste and trade guilds, every individual is both sovereign and subject',[77] which differs from his initial stand on caste as democratic. Pannikar thinks that there is no room for freedom in caste,[78] while others like Tagore hold that 'the purity of the original cannot wipe out the evils of practice' with which Radhakrishnan would probably agree, in view of his later denunciation of caste.

Nevertheless, Radhakrishnan states that India has adopted and instituted British parliamentary democracy with a constitution which guarantees that rulers are responsive to the will of the people and that the people's basic freedoms will be safeguarded.

India has also made headway by applying the democratic technique of compromise in the international field by her policy of non-alignment. Radhakrishnan opines that the peaceful conduct of elections (a fact attested to by others[79]) and India's ability to have survived the Chinese attack shows that democracy has taken root in India but he thinks that Indian democracy must become socialistic if its goals are to be attained.

Defects

Radhakrishnan has given thought to the deficiencies of Indian democracy and the means of overcoming them. As stated earlier he thinks that its defects are due to human frailty and the failure of social institutions.

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On the personal side, Indians, like others, suffer from greed, selfishness and corruption, which leads them to pursue self-interest at the cost of national welfare, to utilise any means to secure the plums of office for themselves and relatives and to pride themselves on their learning, wealth and power when they should use the latter for self-control. Indian society has to rid itself of its communal spirit based on regional, linguistic, casteist grounds, for this results in perennial dissensions and animosity. It has to eradicate superstition, ignorance, blind adherence to past usage, obscurantism, factionalism and especially poverty which corrupts millions and leads to 'diseased bodies and frustrated lives'. Radhakrishnan believes that a society founded on poverty and exploitation is an immoral one and is eventually bound to collapse, for it is like a house built on shifting sands.

He adroitly states that 'a society that tolerates the scourge of untouchability has no right to call itself civilized'. He observes that 'the clash between caste and outcaste is growing more intense and bitter,' that it is both a political and administrative evil since the priestly classes still occupy the dominant positions in social life. Others[80] have pointed out that elections reveal that voting is done on casteist lines and has permeated to the village panchayat level.[81] While Radhakrishnan and Ambedkar have dwelt on the baneful effects of caste others like Rudolph[82] think that it has affected India's political life adversely and beneficially.

Whilst some blame the British for the ills of Indian society, which are four-fold in character, namely political, economic, cultural and spiritual, Radhakrishnan thinks that the British influence has been both degrading and beneficial. He would agree with Macaulay that 'the heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger' and like his compatriots Nehru and Gokhale[83] he did not hesitate to condemn it. He points out that Britain ruled India 'by resort to special powers, by imprisoning representatives even while proclaiming the right of self-government'.[84] Unlike Singhal who thinks that British rule hindered economic development but was socially useful, Radhakrishnan states that the British provided India with railways, irrigation works, law and an efficient administration, though this was done at the cost of our manhood and dignity. Later he hailed Britain's act of transfer of power to India as one of the greatest acts of reconciliation in human history, which is in keeping with Burke's principle that 'magnanimity in politics is the highest wisdom.'

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Radhakrishnan thinks that we owe a great debt of gratitude to Britain for making us conscious of our destiny as a nation, for making us aware of the responsibility of government, for her spirit of exploration and inquiry, which has provided us the opportunity to study not only our own cultural heritage, but also those of other lands.

But in the final analysis, Radhakrishnan, like Nehru, holds that we must not blame 'evils or problems on stars, or God' but on our iniquities, disloyalties and deviation from our ideals.

Radhakrishnan observes that the situation in our country is explosive because we lack 'discipline and direction' and that 'we cannot stop a volcano erupting just by sitting on it'. Hence we have to practise self-restraint and transform our attitudes. Myrdal, however, contends that as far as the Indian masses go, it is likely that there will be 'neither much evolution nor revolution'.

Causes of Revolution

According to Radhakrishnan, revolutions occur not only on account of gruelling poverty and rank illiteracy but also when legitimate ambitions are thwarted, when there is a moral degeneration on the part of the governors, when there is a lack of national solidarity on provincial, communal and religious grounds. He warns that revolutions never result in satisfaction for all and they usually leave a trail of disappointment and disillusionment even if they are successful.

Whilst he demands that revolutions should involve 'speedy and drastic' changes, he is also aware that given the nature of the democratic process, effective changes can be brought about only with time, patience, continuous effort, imaginative vision and moral courage. He abhors changes brought about by force and dictatorial methods. Like Gandhi[85] and Lassalles,[86] Radhakrishnan believes that we are 'interested not only in our objectives but also in our methods, not only in what we achieve but in how we achieve'.[87]

The Resuscitation of Democracy

Radhakrishnan opines that our democracy can overcome its failings by seeing that the ideals enshrined in our Constitution are woven into the social fabric. As the quality of a democracy depends ultimately on the character of the men who comprise it, he stresses that the prime requirement of a spiritually sick society is that we must be reborn in the spirit. For this, we must 'discover roots in the eternal, regain faith in

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transcendent truth which will order life, discipline the discordant elements and bring unity and purpose in it'.[88] This spiritual awakening must be visible in our works and there must be a cleansing at all levels of public life so we must not lose time but crowd the sweat and tears of centuries into a generation, 'reduce inequalities which are unjust'[89] (for instance, those based on caste), provide for human urgencies such as health and housing, and strive to eliminate the chasm between irresponsible wealth and appalling poverty. It is necessary for us to choose wisely from the past, be alert to present needs and have the courage and confidence to build a better future for ourselves.

Radhakrishnan thinks that education is a potent means to bring about a spiritual regeneration and social emancipation of the people. It is likely to help a person widen his horizons, help him to do away with outmoded and superstitious practices and to promote the cause of national integration. If accompanied by economic opportunity education is likely to make men aware of their rights, to make enlightened choices, and get the government to do its duty by them. Radhakrishnan however stresses that education is valuable only if it is given a spiritual direction, or else it will make men demonic, intellectually conceited, spiritually crass and cold hearted.

Democracy can tackle its problems if it has men of impeccable character at its helm, namely, if they have 'integrity, independence, discernment'. The true democrat does not hold office for his personal ambition or love of power. He has qualities of both mind and heart and is capable of anticipating future needs, surmounting obstacles, and working selflessly for the downtrodden. Special responsibilities also devolve on administrators to see that they arre not cliquish or bureaucratic but do their work conscientiously and efficiently. Besides wise leadership, and dedicated administrators, society also needs spiritual leaders, whose main task is to care for the 'health of the soul'.

Other factors stated by Radhakrishnan and recognised by most thinkers as factors that make democracy successful are an enlightened, vigilant public opinion, more than one-party system, a free and responsible press, decentralisation and, above all, hard work.

He is not in favour of a single party in a democracy for it would generate over-confidence. He holds that all parties should abide by constitutional objectives though he concedes that they may use different methods to attain them. It may be pointed out that democracy is likely to perish, if the method advocated is that of violence.

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Regarding the freedom of the press, Radhakrishnan opines that two extremes are to be avoided, namely, that of strict censorship, on the one hand, and that of complete freedom, on the other. The press should be responsible, and serve as an instrument of education, of public opinion by reporting dispassionately and intelligently and being guided by the principles of our Constitution.

Like other progressive democracies, Radhakrishnan suggests that gradually Indian democracy should take to decentralisation on both 'territorial and administrative lines' by means of the Panchayati Raj so as to increase people's participation in government.

Democracy, he believes (not being a law of nature) does not establish itself automatically but 'only when human beings value their manhood', and by dint of hard work, efficiency and organisation, which, Singhal[90] thinks, we lack.

Dictatorship

Radhakrishnan considers dictatorship to be the very antithesis of democracy, for democracy exalts the individual whilst dictatorship exalts the state or the ruler. Radhakrishnan maintains that dictatorship is not conducive to man's nature and development. It stifles man's freedom and thus retards growth. It tolerates no dissent. Those who refuse to flatter are silenced, condemned as criminals or liquidated. The media are the government's mouthpiece and people's lives are regimented by the state. Dictatorship demoralises and dehumanises those in power so that they become corrupt, greedy for pelf and power. Such a government is not accountable to the people and believes in its own infallibility.

As tyrants are bound to be opposed sooner or later, dictatorships are marked by conspiracies, violent upheavals, and, usually, are subject to a crisis of succession.

Communism

Origin

Radhakrishnan thinks that Communism can be traced as far back as Plato, or to all men, be it Christ, Ricardo, or Smith, who were levellers and who sought to reduce glaring inequalities. Communism arose as a protest against the despicable conditions of the working class with the advent of the Industrial Revolution and because 'religious people betrayed their responsibility'.

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Its Tenets

Communism views man in naturalistic terms as an 'ensemble of social relations'. Marx held that political power was used to exploit workers, who should capture it and transform society. This will result in the state withering away and the birth of a classless society.

Radhakrishnan points out that 'communist social philosophy is to be distinguished from the technique of government which communist countries adopt'[91] which is one of coercion and violence. Hence he says that the 'totalitarian[92] character of modern communism is illiberal, unrighteous and even un-Marxist'. It is un-Marxist because although Marx denied the sacredness of the human personality and thought that the economic factor and man's social existence determine man's consciousness, he, according to Radhakrishnan, did not rule out the 'supremacy of the critical mind and the free will of the individual'. Marx expected people to be 'responsible participants' in working for the new social order. Radhakrishnan opines that 'Marxism is a spirit, not a programme, a method of social analysis, not an interpretation of texts'[93] and he observes that modern totalitarian regimes have veered away from Marxist humanism since they have a single party to 'defend the new inequalities which are springing up and perpetuating themselves' and stand for the suppression of individual liberties. Appadorai[94] indicates that Marx modified his earlier theory of social change through violence.

Though Radhakrishnan has touched on the humanist character of Marxism and is sympathetic to its socialist programmes, he says quite explicitly that this does not mean that he agrees with the Marxist philosophy of life, which is atheistic and denies man's spiritual nature. Radhakrishnan thinks that Marx is 'incorrect' in regarding the economic factor as the sole determinant of history and that he thinks that other factors, like the power of the human mind, have to be considered.

Concerning dialectical materialism, Radhakrishnan maintains that 'it may be the statement of a process but not its explanation'. Further, he thinks that if society advances due to the play of materialist forces, there is no reason why the new egalitarian society established by the workers will be exempt from the law of dialectical progress. Radhakrishnan does not agree with the original Marxian view and that of the communists who think that socialist goals can be realised through violent techniques. Similarly, whilst Radhakrishnan favours state ownership of

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public utility services, he is not opposed to private property as he thinks that 'economic rewards should not be divorced from services'.

Despite his differences with communism, he thinks that many poverty-stricken people are attracted to it because it gives them hope for a better life, by its rational allocation of resources and opportunities, which brings about a more equitable distribution of wealth. Hence it has a better chance for the promotion of world brotherhood and racial harmony.

Communism, Radhakrishnan observes, has also had a salutary effect on captialist countries which have seen the rise of the trade union spirit and have accepted the need for a certain degree of state planning for basic welfare. Thus Lipson[95] too acknowledges that 'capitalism is challenged by socialism' and Sargent[96] also agrees that capitalism today differs from what it was at its inception.

Radhakrishnan is also aware of the limitations of communism as seen in his differences with Marxist thought. He thinks that initially (during the period following the Russian Revolution) communism aimed at efficiency at the cost of individual freedom, sought to regiment the life of the individual, stifled creativity in art, religion, science and philosophy and offered equal rewards for all types of work, which resulted in a slackening of effort, promoted dictatorship (as there is only one party with unlimited power) and did not attain its goal of a classless society.

But he maintains that Communism is 'more sober and willing to defend democracy' so it should not be identified with violence, irreligion, tyranny and individual suppression. Stalin's constitution of 1936 took a step forward by recognising human rights, including the individual right to worship. So also did China take the step of permitting 'wall-papers' and discussion of political problems was allowed at the Chinese Academy. Radhakrishnan also explains that concentration camps have given way to labour correction camps. Scope has been provided for individual initiative in industry, a view affirmed by Robson.[97] Radhakrishnan thinks that as collective leadership increases there is more scope for democratic control of state policies. Communist states like Yugoslavia have resisted Soviet domination and have taken steps to ensure a peaceful transfer of authority. Sargent[98] thinks that no strictly communist country 'has developed a means of mostly changing from one dictator to the next'.

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Radhakrishnan observes that initially on account of its atheistic stance, the Soviet Union banned the practice of religion but this was revoked when the Church supported the Soviet Union in World War II. Communism, according to Radhakrishnan, is only against dogma-based religion which 'supports inequalities and vested interests'; it is not against religion which aims at personal integration, and a just and equitable social order.

Despite the truth in Radhakrishnan's analysis of contemporary communism, one cannot say that it has done away with repression or violence, as is seen in the treatment meted out to intellectual dissidents (for instance, Sakharov, Shcharansky) and to leaders and movements in Czechoslovakia and Poland, which have tried to give communism a human face.

Radhakrishnan admits that neither democracy nor communism are flawless. Liberals have failed because they are not sufficiently democratic, and lack practical efficiency. Communists have failed because of their spiritual deficiency. He rightly thinks that conflicts arise because of the notion of infallibility on the part of individuals and nations. He thinks that democracy has deteriorated because it has tried to control man whereas communism, which began with regimentation, is 'moving relentlessly towards an open society'.

However, both systems, he contends, 'suffer from faith in the omnipotence of mechanism and technique and the spirit of materialism',[99] and both adopt power as the sole end of the state. The individual is subjected to state tyranny when it follows the path of military violence or commercial greed. In the final analysis, he thinks that the test of any system will depend not on beliefs but on deeds. Hence, if communism and democracy are to survive they must overcome their defects and transform themselves. Brown holds that this has already begun in a small way as there are trends of convergence.[100]

Nationalism—Rise of the Nation State: Its Character and Dangers

As we live in an era of nation states, Radhakrishnan has devoted attention to their rise, nature, significance and dangers.

Like Ambedkar,[101] he views nationality as a corporate and spiritual sentiment but like Benn and Peters[102] he also maintains that there is nothing ultimate, definite or fixed about a nation. A nation which involves a communion of minds and hearts is to be distinguished from any casual association. This sense of corporateness may or may not be

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'rooted in common racial, linguistic, religious, historic, geographical or economic grounds' but he thinks that the unity is forged by 'traditions of common history' and values such as wisdom, love and sacrifice. Other factors which sustain national feeling in a modern nation are a community of ideals and aspirations, fundamental political concepts, economic interests and the love of one's native soil which is an indestructible force in human nature.

For Radhakrishnan, nationalism signifies the resolve that the people of a country will do their utmost to preserve its soul, its integrity, and contribute to the progress of the world community. Nationalism is 'the consciousness which nations have acquired of their genius when once they are personified'.[103]

While national feeling has been described as double-edged, Radhakrishnan maintains that it does not connote hatred for the foreigner. Hence genuine nationalism is consistent with internationalism. Similarly, Gandhi says 'my idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that, if need be, the whole country may die so that the human race may live'.[104]

Radhakrishnan thinks that nation states arose when men felt the need for a central power to call a halt to tribal feuds and civil wars. Though he thinks that political sovereignty is not a necessary adjunct of nationality yet he also holds that self-government is needed, as no people who constitute a nationality wish to be under the tutelage of a foreign ruler as it is inconsistent with self-respect and dignity and does not make for world peace and welfare. An independent nation grows to be self-reliant, develops creativity and, as Burges says, 'rescues the world from the monotony of an universal empire'.

Radhakrishnan's defence of nationalism is related to the advantages claimed for nationalism by other writers, namely, that it is largely instrumental in freeing nations from colonial rule, that it serves as an impetus for the development of peoples, affords nations an opportunity to contribute to the world community and gives the state unity and effectiveness.[105]

According to Radhakrishnan, a nation is great not by its size or wealth but by the pains it takes to enlarge its spirit, to build men of character who will work 'selflessly, dedicatedly and detachedly' to remove the disabilities of their compatriots. He cites the case of Japan whose saga of courage and hard work has made it one of the foremost

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nations of the world. 'Positive patriotism' signifies that a nation's people have a common goal like national interest, and are willing to subordinate their petty and sectional interests to it. Radhakrishnan is all too aware of the disastrous consequences of 'aggressive nationalism, which lapses into imperialism' a thought echoed by Palmer[106] and Huxley.[107]

Blind narrow patriotism has led to wars of aggression, unscrupulous opportunism, a self-righteous attitude hostile to any other group or nation which does not share its views. Radhakrishnan concludes that the pursuit of unbridled nationalism has resulted in mass egotism, self-idolatory, reduction of the world into 'a babel of people' and has proved to be an obstacle to cooperation and friendship. Calhoun[108] indicates that such materialism results in xenophobia and paralyses one's thought. Radhakrishnan says 'successive waves of internationalism broke on the shores of local pride and national vanity'.[109] If nationalism is practised in this way, it is jingoistic and detestable, so we must try to overcome 'pride, passion, prejudice and pharisaism.'

To reverse these trends, 'we must be patriotic without ceasing to be men'. If a change of attitude does not occur we are likely to witness the end of the world because of 'sheer political folly and fanatical zeal'.

The Indian Nation

Although Radhakrishnan is not clear in his definition of terms such as nation, an analysis of his views on the question of whether India is a nation or not seems to reveal two criteria, namely, that what makes a nation is not race or religion but a way of life and, secondly, a nation is a society typified by a sense of solidarity.

According to Radhakrishnan, India is a nation for 'it is not a geographical expression, nor is it a collection of individuals, it is tradition, an order of thought and manners, a loyalty to certain fundamental values fostered by all races and religions that have found a home in this land'.[110] The secret of India's strength, modernity and universalism lies in her outstanding tradition of 'hospitality to varied beliefs and freedom from the tyranny of dogmas', in her accommodation of conservatives, non-conformists a view upheld by foreigners[111] and Indians[112] as well. Like a mother she has provided intellectual and spiritual sustenance to all who have sought refuge in her. He believes that India has always sought to promote the cult of the

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spirit and has never pursued the path of national aggrandisement. India's conquests have never been political but spiritual and cultural (generally known as Greater India). He thinks that she has always been the standard bearer of culture as 'a large part of the world received its religious education from India'. But he admits that she has yet to grapple with 'susperstition and theological baggage'. So if India has been able to withstand the shock waves of aggression on its soil, it is because of her quality of self-renewal and the tendency to seek unity in diversity as well as peace and good will. Indian culture, Radhakrishnan maintains, is a composite and variegated fabric, a rich amalgam of Aryan, Dravidian, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, British and other Western influences. It is in view of this legacy that a nation of vast millions belonging to different linguistic backgrounds, professing different religions is held together under one administration based on consent rather than coercion.

As regards the other determinant of a nation which is that of solidarity, Radhakrishnan's position may be described as ambivalent. On the one hand, he points out that for centuries our country has been referred to as a unity as testified by the Chinese travellers and the accounts given in the epics, and classics, which have been corroborated by others.[113] On the other hand, he tells us that 'to develop a united India has been the purpose of all great Indians'. Attempts were made at political unification and to weld people of different races, religions under the Mauryas, Guptas, Moghuls, Marathas and the British. Even though the British have been accused of adopting the policy of divide and rule, Radhakrishnan thinks that 'lack of national coherence'[114] is one of our longstanding defects, which prevails even after we have attained independence. Several feuds have arisen because of our pursuit of narrow, provincial, sectarian, casteist and communal loyalties which are eating at the vitals of our nation. We have betrayed our spiritual heritage and 'forgotten the lessons of tolerance and understanding'.

Means of National Integration

Radhakrishnan thinks that national unity should be deliberately and carefully nurtured for 'if we lose our sense of belonging to one nation, we will lose our identity and our capacity to control our future will be diminished if not destroyed'.[115]

National unity can be fostered by sinking differences arising from racial, religious and casteist differences and by doing away with the obnoxious aspects of our past.

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Our lives have to be revamped by engaging in 'clean, noble dedicated and selfless work' rather than pursuing self-interest at the cost of national welfare. This requires self-discipline, wisdom, humility, courage and dedication. We are capable of attaining these ends as is visible in our struggle for independence, achieved through cooperative effort.

War, Radhakrishnan believes, has a therapeutic effect on a faction-ridden people who are then roused to preserve their freedom and territorial integrity. For instance, the Chinese attack on India brought us together. But he is opposed to the use of violence in settling issues within a nation.

Besides stressing the need to develop values and moral principles Radhakrishnan has also proposed other steps to promote nationality.

As seen earlier, education, he thinks, is a powerful agency to break down barriers between men and to enable people to work for common goals. The media can be employed fruitfully to promote national consciousness. He pleads for the retention of English and of two or more official languages so that efforts at national solidarity may not be jeopardised on account of linguistic squabbles.

Regional imbalances leading to Centre-State conflict should be replaced by a balanced regional development, the development of our scientific, agricultural, industrial potential so that this would make for greater cooperation and interdependence between citizens and states.

He also advocates that irrespective of caste, community or creed, the economically backward be given opportunities for self-reliance. He holds that recruitment for All India Services should be from all states and done purely on the basis of merit, worth, efficiency if we are to survive in this competitive world.

We are an enigmatic people, for we have a tradition of values which makes for the solidarity of mankind but our history is marred by the scars of perpetual infighting.

He thinks that Indians must not despair but face obstacles with 'honesty and seriousness.' The task before them is to transform themselves and regain their original perspective by adhering to the truths of the spirit which will result in 'liberality, understanding and freedom'.

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According to Radhakrishnan, nationalism is not incompatible with internationalism but is a step that leads to it. He has reflected on different aspects of internationalism, on the functioning and limits of the United Nations Organisation and on India's contribution to the world order.

Internationalism

Meaning and Basis

Internationalism stands for 'a harmony of difference' and Radhakrishnan distinguishes it from cosmopolitanism which aims at uniformity by obliterating the differences among nations. Internationalism signifies that every independent nation strives to realise its potentialities whilst recognising its links, obligations and union with other nations. Tagore aptly explains that the 'mission of the rose lies in the unfoldment of the petals which implies distinctness, so the rose of humanity is perfect only when diverse nations evolve their distinct characteristics, but all are attached to the stem of humanity by the bond of love'.[116] The international spirit should not be confined only to the political sphere but should pervade all areas of life be it religious, social, economic or cultural.

He considers national autonomy as a pre-condition to world fellowship. A country in bondage, lacking freedom and justice is not likely to comprehend the need and advantages of international amity. The time is ripe for a world society in order to remove the causes of unrest among nations, even as the nation state was born 'to remove the instrument of coercion from private parties'. Bellicose and fanatical nationalism incites wars and results in 'anarchy, slave empires, and Hitlers' the dangers of which have been voiced by Laski[117] and others.[118]

Besides, Radhakrishnan contends that the unity of the world is being shaped by logic of events—mental, economic and political, a view affirmed by other thinkers.[119] The boons of science and technology have led to economic development, have broken down attitudes of hostility based on ignorance, prejudice, superstition and have promoted the interdependence of mankind.

Developments in modern nuclear warfare, global problems have made men realise that self-preservation is possible only if they get together in a spirit of tolerance and comradeship.

Although prophets and philosophers have proclaimed our common humanity from very early times, it is only today that man is aware of his

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common kinship, origin and destiny. The Pauline truth that 'we are members one of another', that if one nation suffers all nations suffer and that it is our duty to help them, is being increasingly recognised but, according to Brown,[120] not always practised. Radhakrishnan opines that distinctions among men on the basis of race, religion, nationality are of no consequence and the only important difference is whether they are civilized or not.

He points out that whilst science and technology have brought about a physical unification it is up to man to work for intellectual communication and spiritual communion. Man therefore has to transform 'this mechanical unity into a spiritual concord' or he must give a soul to the growing world consciousness.

Owing to man's cussedness, national idolatries, racial bigotry and religious dogmatism, colonial domination still prevail. Despite man's scientific achievements the world has colossal problems of poverty and plenty, of national obsessions, of mutual suspicion and rivalry, and there is much cause for 'bewilderment and alarm'. He thinks that man must realise that neither 'material wealth nor political power can thrive without moral foundations'.

To achieve world unity man has either to seek the path of collision, of isolation or of conciliation. The path of collision, of power politics and domination would result in universal genocide, and is based on the subjection and degradation of humanity. No nation can seek to isolate itself from the world community for it is likely 'to lose its liberty and die of suffocation'. The only path of hope for the future is the path of conciliation, of internationalism, and every attempt must be made to promote it.

Steps to Promote Internationalism

Radhakrishnan contends that a sound and healthy nationalism paves the way for internationalism, for the principles underlying both are the same. Just as a democratic society is founded on the freedom and dignity of the individual, the world society cannot be built on slave nations.

Secondly, as order and liberty in national life are secured by the legal uses of force, a similar principle of international law must be adopted at the international level.

Another parallelism is that just as no individual is justified in pursuing his own interest at the expense of national welfare, in like

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manner no nation should seek its interest at the cost of humanity. Fourthly, all factors required for national stability, namely, those of a clean administration, effective and devoted leadership, economic opportunities, national cohesion, common ideals and aspirations, would also be conducive in advancing the cause of nationalism. Frankel,[121] however, warns that though the two domains overlap, analogies between the two may not be fully warranted.

Radhakrishnan thinks that the present brand of aggressive nationalism has to make way for loyalty to humanity. Just as individuals subject themselves to state authority so also states must be willing to subordinate their sovereignty (Russell[122] too thought likewise) to a world authority which, he envisages, would be federal in character. A World Federation will afford individual nations the opportunity to develop according to their own genius. According to Radhakrishnan, national sovereignty should prevail in domestic and economic matters. But it may be pointed out that in this age of interdependence, it may not always be possible to demarcate clearly issues that are purely domestic, as these may have international repurcussions.

Internationalism can be fostered if issues are solved by peaceful methods of negotiation, adjustment, rather than by those of coercion, vengeance. But Radhakrishnan maintains that these methods will not work if we adopt 'a shopkeeper's attitude' but only if there is a spirit of 'goodwill, mutual confidence and inner appreciation of the other's point of view'.[123] Pickles[124] thinks that nations have to be tolerant and be willing to compromise in settling issues peacefully.

Radhakrishnan vouches that the philosophy of co-existence is not a philosophy of 'expediency or weakness' but one of 'live and let live', not a philosophy of 'either or' but one of 'this and that'. It is a mental attitude born of compassion and understanding and devoid of pride and self-righteousness. Compromise, for Radhakrishnan, does not stand for laxity in morals but a peaceful way of making adjustments. He thinks that the practice of co-existence will result in suitable changes in both totalitarian and democratic systems, that is, it will make the former attach more importance to civil liberties and the latter care more for social justice.

He is of the view that amity and fraternity of mankind can be promoted if men get together not just in the political fields but also in other areas such as science, technology, education. He commends the work done by the agencies of the UN, the Commonwealth, non-

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governmental organisations and by scientists, as scholarship knows no boundaries. He welcomes East-West dialogue and ventures to solve global problems and meet challenges. Likewise, he thinks that harmony can be fostered if men are acquainted with the life and teachings of great universalists (e.g. Gandhi,[125] Tagore,[126] Hus,[127] great religious leaders who shunned narrow and sectarian interests and those like Herodotus, Socrates, Ramakrishna who revealed a catholicity of spirit).

Radhakrishnan is convinced that since all religions proclaim the unity of man because all men are God's children, religious idealism is the most potent instrument for peace, fellowship and cooperation. Realisation of our brotherhood will help man to rid himself of pride and distortions, and practise humility, love, and service rather than violence and vengeance. Radhakrishnan cautions that internationalism is not a scientific device but it requires 'patience, perspective and understanding'. It requires us to meet 'abuse by courtesy, obstruction by reasonableness, suspicion and hatred by trust and good will'.[128]

He stresses that since man today suffers from egoism, moral inertia, spiritual blindness, it is imperative for man to renew himself morally and spiritually by means of contemplation and service.

The United Nations Organisation

Radhakrishnan holds that a world body like the UN is needed to avert a world war which would be materially and morally devastating. It is a symbol of mankind's hope for peace, unity, freedom and progress. He thinks that it serves as a meeting ground between different factors (affluent, developing and under-developed nations) in the world. It ensures cooperation on issues where there is agreement and it provides a platform for debate on controversial problems. It employs non-coercive methods and moral force to check aggressive nations. The UN is a source of security to nations and it tries to free nations from 'political domination, racial oppression, economic exploitation'. Radhakrishnan however is aware of several factors that impede the working of the United Nations Organisation, which he considers to be the nearest approximation to world government. Besides the fact that not all nations are members of the UN, nations are still wedded to the concept of total national sovereignty. Hence, as long as the UN lacks authority, power and institutions (organs of government, police and armed force, code of law and a supreme court) to enforce its decisions on the world community it will not be able to attain its objectives, which, according to its charter, are 'the dignity of persons, the equality of races and cooperation of nations for justice and peace'.

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He envisages that the international authority alone, not individual nations, should have the power to declare war. To avert war, it should engage in a policy of disarmament by banning the manufacture and sale of certain types of armament, controlling research and development and so on. These measures would enable it to protect nations against aggression, call a halt to the arms race and maintain peace.

India's Contribution

Despite the limitations of Indian democracy and the problems that beset the country, Radhakrishnan thinks that India can make an immense contribution to the building of a united peaceful world order.

Whilst one may not agree with his contention that 'universalism is innate to the Indian character[129] as we are not born with a character but acquire one, yet it cannot be denied that India has a long tradition of open-mindedness, tolerance, sympathy and understanding. Besides, India is the meeting point of several cultures. It has produced great universalists like Gandhi. Its spirit has been felt and acknowledged by some of the world's great men such as Schopenhauer, Deussen, Emerson, Thoreau, and Yeats, to mention only a few. Moreover, a large part of the world has received its religious education from India. India has never entertained an ambition for world domination and has always tried to promote the ideals of the Rig Veda,[130] which requires that we move together and develop common ideals and purposes. Radhakrishnan thinks that despite her lapses, India with its spiritual outlook can provide the world with the soul it seeks.

In keeping with her philosophy of tolerance and co-existence India has adopted the principles of panchshila and the policy of non-alignment in her dealings with other nations.

According to Radhakrishnan, the original Panchshila enunciated by Buddha centred round the principles of restraint, of truth speaking, of reverence for life and respect for fellowmen, of freedom from avarice and abstinence from intoxicating drinks. Nehru's interpretation of panchshila in terms of mutual respect of states for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence is in consonance with Buddha's principles and coalesces with the objectives of the United Nation's Charter.

Radhakrishnan clarifies that non-alignment does not mean neutrality towards right, nor does it mean isolationism nor does it

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signify an attitude of superiority, which divides the world into two fixed groups—the wolves and the sheep or those with skeletons and those without them.

Radhakrishnan stresses that non-alignment signifies our right of giving an independent judgement,[131] a commitment to freedom,[132] to democracy, to justice, to law and to a peaceful settlement of issues. This policy, of which India is the acknowledged leader[133] has enabled her to serve as Chairman of various international commissions constituted of both Communist and non-Communist members and has thus helped her to make her distinct contribution to human fellowship and peace.

War

Radhakrishnan thinks that since the fear and threat of war looms large in our minds, we live in an 'atmosphere of impending catastrophe'. Steps must be taken to avert war and provide conditions that would make for peace.

War, as Radhakrishnan sees it, is a climax of misunderstanding, though at times it is undertaken to seek justice. It is an 'acquired mental habit' wherein man alone, unlike animals, decides to kill for 'metaphysical reasons'. It is therefore evil for it means violence, destruction and signifies a 'surrender of all humanity, culture and values'. He maintains that to approve of warfare but criticise its methods is like approving of the wolf eating his lamb but criticising its table manners.

Radhakrishnan regards cold war to be a state of armed fear, a view shared by Fernandes.[134] Radhakrishnan is aware that 'if war has a future, society has none' for a war today would entail the use of such deadly weapons (nuclear, radioactive, chemical) that it would leave no one, not even the victor alive.

He considers war to be an outrage on all that is human since it plunges millions into death, starves children, defiles women. Moreover, it involves 'the desire to harm, implacable hate, the fury of reprisals and a passion for domination'. It is a renewal of barbarism and reveals man's spiritual blindness. It leads to a loss of objectivity and discernment, to corruption. It breeds fear, hatred, callousness and suspicion which is likely to accelerate the arms race and increase the hazards of war.

War arises because of man's selfishness, greed, thirst for power, worship of politics, because he has dispensed with obedience, humility

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and, above all, because of obsessive fear which is even worse than hate.[135] Man is his own greatest enemy.

He also thinks that men engage in war because they have grown accustomed to war or vice, because of the efficacy of military methods. Some find 'war glamourous on account of the glitter of badges and stars'.[136] Not all wars are fought when classes wish to retain their privileges. Radhakrishnan thinks that they are also fought to secure justice and peace, preserve democracy, protect women and homeland, fight racial injustice. However, the wars that appeal to these great causes may only serve as a mask for the lust of power or religious and racial prejudice.

Radhakrishnan contends that prevention of injustice is the only decent motive for war but the chances of winning it must be reasonable or else 'military resistence will increase the evil'. He also maintains that a state when attacked has the bounden duty to protect its citizens and that a just war is 'liberative and non-aggressive'. Palmer and Perkins also indicate that international law recognises the legality of defensive war.[137] Later, however, Radhakrishnan thought that wars were not justified even for defence 'which may be made to include prospective dangers and thus justify aggression'.[136]

Whilst Radhakrishnan agrees that *ahimsa* or non-violence is the ideal way of resolving conflict, he holds that the divine is not to be found in detachment and must be related to the empirical world which, at the moment, is subject to man's stupidity and selfishness! In this age of Kaliyug, force is necessary, but when man conquers his selfishness, it will not be required in the Satyayug or age of righteousness.

As stated earlier, Radhakrishnan thinks that the use of force is justified at both national and international levels to maintain order, restrain the evil doer, protect the helpless, uphold the rule of law. Force, however, should be used only if there is no other alternative and that too, to the extent necessary. It should have an ethical basis and not be an expression of vindictiveness or hate. To repeat, Radhakrishnan favours the resolution of conflict not by coercion but by negotiation, arbitration and adjustment. It is necessary for the problem to be viewed in a spirit of 'humility and dispassion' and to carry out negotiations in an 'atmosphere of good will, sincerity, determination to reach such an agreement'.

Radhakrishnan seems to agree with Freud that the best antidote to war is the development of sentiment. But I would also add that it is essential

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that this sentiment is based on love rather than hate. He recommends that steps be taken to curb insidious forms of violence such as provocative remarks, harsh judgements, ill will, anger. He is keen that the oppressed confront the exploiters not by violent methods but by a policy of non-violent resistance which relies in moral courage and self-control. He is keen on showing that faith in *ahimsa* does 'not mean cowardly submission to aggression', nor does it mean surrendering to evil. Given the usual disastrous consequences of war and the possibility of its annihilating the world in the future, he thinks that non-violence is the only solution and ultimate ideal. But in practice he finds that 'we have to mediate between the supreme ideal of absolute non-violence and actual conditions'. So he thinks that there should be an international authority with the power to establish the rule of law among nations. This authority would settle disputes, and take steps towards disarmament which he thinks is vital for peace and security. Radhakrishnan opines that the unilateral cessation of nuclear tests is a step towards complete disarmament and President Kennedy and Russell have advocated similar and other measures to bring about disarmament.

Radhakrishnan contends that we should get out of the rut of trying to solve problems through armed conflict because it is not only 'bad morals but bad policy'. Measures should be adopted that promote internationalism (explained earlier) and weaken and curb narrow, aggressive patriotism, which tends to 'corrupt ideals and poison relations'.

Peace

In the present state of turmoil, man's duty is to hope and strive to achieve the ideal of peace. Though Radhakrishnan regards peace as tolerance (a term with many connotations[139]) or mutual forbearance, he does not conceive it to be just a negative state of absence of strife and conflict nor is it that which can be attained by 'bluffing, bargaining and bullying'. Positively, peace is good will towards all men (also upheld by Fernandes[140]) based on understanding, justice and freedom. Peace demands that men harmonise their differences, root out their mistrust, prejudices, purge themselves from egotism, false pride, national idolatries, and racial discrimination, which lead to oppression and which degrade both, the individual and others.

Peace signifies faith in the invincible spirit of man and is meant to be not just an intellectual achievement but a moral and spiritual one. It results from the fusion of effort, imagination and purpose. It is the

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'crown of self-sacrifice, humility, repentance, surrender, not of violence and conquest'.

Radhakrishnan is aware that making peace pacts, granting independence to nations, will not automatically ensure peace. Nevertheless, he thinks that respect for human rights, the elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination, the economic development of underprivileged countries and the setting up of an international authority are all steps towards peace. He is emphatic that 'self-scrutiny and international discipline' on the part of sovereign states are essential. He believes that 'if men conquer their own inordinate desires, this inner victory will show forth in their outer relations'.[141]

There is hardly any need to reiterate his suggestions to prevent war and to promote international amity, but these are evidently factors that would make for peace. It is man's conscious and continuous effort that can make the world safe for peace. The way to peace is to use the weapons of integrity, reason, patience, understanding, love and especially perseverance in pursuing peace even if we fail to secure it.

Conclusion

This study of Radhakrishnan's political thought will be inadequate if no mention is made of the difficulties encountered. At times, he tends to use terms in an anomalous manner. For instance, in referring to socialism he explains that 'it is an organic growth from our tradition and character'[142] and he also maintains that 'it is not a possession to be defended but a goal to be achieved'.[143] Similarly, in respect of democracy he says, 'democracy is a faith, as it asks us to adopt persuasion, restraint, consent, in the settlement of problems'[144] but he also says that 'we must make democracy a faith and realise it in works'.[145] So also in respect of modernisation, Radhakrishnan uses the terms to mean not only industrialisation but also to refer to an outlook that is open to change. Similarly, his statement that 'the world is intended to become the abode of the family of man. It is in the minds of events'. This statement seems to go counter to his view that it is man who decides the future for he says, 'history is not static.... our decisions can illumine or darken history. It depends on us'. Radhakrishnan, however, was aware that we live in an age of 'a striking devaluation of words', especially of words like justice, democracy, freedom, peace, socialism. It is therefore up to the writer to realise the strength and the sanctity of words.[146] His lack of conformity to this principle can be best explained by the fact that Radhakrishnan did not set out to formally enunciate a political theory but his treatment of it is quite comprehensive.

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9

LOOKING BEYOND THE PRESENT

The social philosopher is not only concerned with the nature and significance of various social institutions but he is also interested in discovering the nature, and means of social progress.

Radhakrishnan understands progress to be not just change but development from within, development that is gradual and beneficial to the individual and society. There can be no social progress unless there is moral progress, for 'it is the crisis in the human soul which is reflected in the crisis in the world'. The essence of the moral life consists not merely in adjusting to the environment but in transforming it so that it may embody the ideal of love (which is now imperfectly expressed). As regards the moral life, Radhakrishnan thinks that we should abide by the moral code but not be fanatical about it or else there will be no moral progress.

Concerning the social sphere, Radhakrishnan contends that there are three stages in the development of a society, namely, the stage where the law of the jungle or brute force prevails, the stage of the rule of law which he hopes will pave the way for the stage in which a society typified by non-violence and unselfishness, a society where law and love are one. Rules and laws are necessary because of man's imperfections but laws will become redundant once man overcomes his defects.

Radhakrishnan disagrees with Marx that progress is inevitable for there have been periods of 'decay and retrogression'. He maintains that the course of life and history depends 'not on the stars but on ourselves'. This contrasts with the cyclical view of progress which holds that the cosmos is governed by impersonal laws, and which rules out novelty and individual responsibility. Nor does Radhakrishnan consider history to be the revelation of a higher purpose because the catacylismic appears at the turning points in history. He favours neither a historical

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determinism nor is he prepared to view history as a 'chaotic, disorderly flux where caprice is king'. History for him is the outcome of several factors, necessary and accidental, but the essential factor in it is the spirit of man. Man is not a plaything of fate, and history owes its direction and progress to the hard choices, courage and creativity of prophets, heroes, artists, pioneers 'who dared to take responsibility for their insights into goodness, truth and beauty'.[1]

Progress, both moral and social, can be attained by individual and social means. But of the two factors, Radhakrishnan believes that 'the individual must change before society can change'. He agrees with Plotinus[2] that the individual must build himself or else society will collapse. Whilst some like Russell and Mill think that the cure for evil is enlightenment, Radhakrishnan has faith in education as an instrument of intellectual and spiritual awakening but he warns us that intellectual advance does not necessarily entail moral superiority. Besides civilization does not depend on only intellectual achievements and creativity but on the moral qualities of gentleness, compassion and humility. Man therefore needs to discipline himself and transform his 'carnal mindedness into spiritual mindedness' for man's eminence is gauged not by what he renounces. A truly cultured person does not regard wealth, high birth, status and learning as grounds for conceit but regards these as 'a means for the exercise of self-control'. Moral regeneration therefore requires 'the travail of the spirit'.

Radhakrishnan stresses both, the need for asceticism and meditation in man's private life but he also expects man to imitate 'the rebels and non-conformists' by fighting social evils.

He considers individual moral progress to be a *sine qua non* of social progress. To promote the individual's development, society must be founded 'on the inviolability of personality, the fact of fellowship, the duty of service and the power of sacrifice'.[3] These are truths upheld by all religions and Radhakrishnan believes that true religion is 'the practice of the divine rule among men'. Hence evangelism, be it political, religious or economic, and exploitation on any grounds is always an obstacle to progress.

In order to attain industrial and social progress, Radhakrishnan thinks that we require both trained personnel like engineers, and humanists like medical men and teachers. He observes that Indian society is superstitious, ignorant, oppressive and has outmoded and dangerous institutions like untouchability, child marriage (I would add

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the dowry system), which have to be eliminated. Too long have we rested on our past glory and become lotus eaters. We have failed to wrestle with the new challenges which require courage and wisdom.

To meet these challenges, India must discover anew the ancient truths of the Upanishads and the Vedas, which are the giving up of personal profit and practising renunciation and non-violence. But he also stresses that the spirit and method of Western science is necessary in order to fertilize our culture. It would serve as a 'cleansing fire' to rid us of the relics of barbarism in our past and enable us to make our authentic contribution to the collective wisdom of the world. Hence the edifice of civilization must be built with ancient endeavour as well as the modern outlook.

Whilst Radhakrishnan maintains that ultimately progress depends on the efforts of individuals to remake themselves and free themselves from servitude to their passions, he also thinks that other factors such as 'the healing power of time, the resilience of human nature, the mutability of social and political institutions, and, above all, the mercy of Providence'[4] can ease conflict and make for peace and harmony.

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CONCLUSION

From his social thought, it is evident that Radhakrishnan has performed the major tasks of social philosophy which are those of inquiring into the nature, purpose, significance and limitations of major social institutions and of analysing the basic concepts used in discussing social questions.

However, attention has been drawn to the fact that there are times when Radhakrishnan tends to use terms loosely and interchangeably (as is the case of culture and civilization, caste and class, socialism and democracy) that he has made ambivalent[1] statements which make for difficulties in interpretation. Of course, it must be kept in mind that (except partly for education) Radhakrishnan did not give any formal exposition of his social and political thought and one of the principles adopted in this study is the one suggested by Radhakrishnan himself, namely, to interpret a writer at his best. This however has not been done at the cost of the principles of consistency and coherency which are basic to evaluation. For instance, a scrutiny has been made of Radhakrishnan's account of the personal factor as being the tradition in Hindu marriage and the family, of his arguments for the democratic character of caste, of his justification of caste on eugenic grounds and note has been taken of his silence on certain major systems in Hindu society, namely, those of the joint family and the dowry systems (the existence of which is pertinent to the question of the personal factor).

Similarly, even though his metaphysical standpoint is that of Absolute Idealism, it may be noted that there is hardly any reference to the Absolutist aspect of Idealism (whether it is in respect of the Self or the Supreme). In fact, the references given below are theistic in character. Of course, it can be argued from the viewpoint of Absolute Idealism that God is an expression of the Absolute and it may be also pointed out that Radhakrishnan did not explicitly expound this topic.

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He is undoubtedly a Renascent Hindu thinker as he has tried to free karma from its fatalistic meaning by stressing self-determination and he has also interpreted renunciation not as withdrawal from the world but as detachment from the world in its finitude. He rejects quietism and has done his best to erase the view of Hinduism as a religion of world-negation. He thinks that Indians should not rest content in merely developing qualities of cheerfulness and contentment but should rebel against corruption, fanaticism, jingoism, and inequality, and improve their condition by self-control, self-reliance and corporate effort. He has also emphasised the need to upgrade the position of women who for centuries have held a subservient place in Hindu society.

On the important question of the justification of the state and other social institutions, he thinks that they are justified only in so far as they promote and do not hamper the freedom of the human spirit. He regards 'man to be a more fundamental reality than human institutions'. He is convinced that the individual must change before society can change and that the ideal individual and perfect society arise together. Though he thinks that 'social life is a movement in our destiny and not the terminus' he also asserts that 'in its place, everything has value'. So man needs institutions and laws because of his waywardness and lack of self-control and if society has to survive he thinks that we must accept that its essence 'consists of the free activity of the mind, in the increase of moral virtue'. Hence man must not blindly follow what society demands of him but he must think for himself and act responsibly. Radhakrishnan warns that those who are intellectually gifted should not consider themselves to be morally superior to those who are not similarly endowed. But he contends that the use of reason, dialogue, the adoption of a tolerant and non-violent approach are the best ways of resolving conflict.

Social problems and evils are due to man's frailty. Man's worst malaises are those of self-righteousnes and selfishness. Radhakrishnan advocates the need for self-reflection, austerity and control with respect to oneself and compassion, understanding tolerance with regard to others.

He does not favour a crass individualism. He is emphatic that since men are all children of God and 'members one of another', no one can be saved until all are saved. Hence steps must be taken to secure justice, reduce inequality, do away with war, racism, provincialism and aggressive nationalism, all of which militate against the essential unity of man.

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Whilst he regards the family as an essential element of the social structure, he assumes that it will not perish, and he seems to have accorded a greater degree of importance to religion and economics because they satisfy man's basic needs of labour, rest and worship.

Although he is aware of the internal and external forces that threaten religion, of the aberrations of religion, he thinks that true religion, which is the religion of the spirit, is essentially concerned with the twin goals of personal integration and the redemption of society. Religion therefore must express itself in 'reasonable thoughts, fruitful action and right social institutions'. But whilst Religion, Philosophy and Art deal with the 'art of living', as long as man is a composite being, one cannot ignore the 'mechanics of living' or economic considerations. Hence he has reflected on the goals, functions and limitations of this institution. If some headway has been made in the attainment of the economic goals of Wealth and Welfare, it is because of the wonders wrought by Science. But his reflections on the subject show that he is conscious that science can be used for the enhancement or impoverishment of the quality of life.

Radhakrishnan's consciousness of the warring elements in human nature has made him dwell on the limitations and changes occurring in the major institutions. But whilst speculating, he has not ignored facts. His approach to problems 'is not doctrinaire but pragmatic' as is evident in the concrete suggestions he has made for 'improvement in the status and dignity of women', also with regard to planning for rural development, where he thinks that plans should be specific and detailed.

He believes that we should be 'reverent to eternal values and responsive to temporal events'. For instance, while he abjures force and conceives the ideal society to be one where law is replaced by love, he thinks that in the actual imperfect conditions that prevail, the state will have to exercise force on recalcitrant individuals. He is forthright to admit that 'in this imperfect world, non-resisters are able to practise their convictions only because they owe their security to the maintenance by others of the principles which they repudiate'.[2]

Despite his conviction that individual reform must precede social reform a closer look at his views on the working, limitations and suggested improvements of various social institutions shows that Radhakrishnan expects institutions to aid both the individual and society. Hence he advocates that governments and others should take

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steps to promote justice and equality and rid our country of its sectarian spirit. He thinks that various organisations—religious, educational and international—should devise ways and means of fostering a universal and fraternal outlook so that 'eternal truths which give us sovereign rules of conduct for our lives are to be realised on earth in social and temporal terms'.[3] He maintains that ultimately history will judge us by our deeds, not by our beliefs. But it may be pointed out that we cannot dispense with beliefs altogether, for, as thinking beings, they do affect our behaviour.

Radhakrishnan also reveals himself to be a thinker who is free from hubris, who scrutinises his own views and modifies them after due reflection or on the basis of factual evidence. This is visible in his condemnation of caste which at first he considered to be praiseworthy. Similarly, at first he considered Indian culture and civilization to be superior on account of its capacity for self-renewal, assimilation and tolerance but later he admitted that it lacked the capacity of dynamism, integrity, scientific outlook, humanism of the West and that the qualities attributed to them were not exclusive to each of them but that the question was only one of emphasis. He further held that the new world order should combine the best elements of the East and the West.

He has also been perceptive in observing the changes that have occurred in Capitalism, in Communism as well as Democracy. Note must also be taken of the fact that he has given a frank appraisal of the role played by the British in India.

He is optimistic for he thinks that even in this age of doubt, chaos and cultural ferment we need not despair, for religions (which he regards as a potent means for self-renewal and world harmony) have shed their intransigence. This, he thinks, augurs well for the ushering in of a new world order.

Even though Radhakrishnan has not enunciated any distinctively new theory on the nature and purpose of man's existence and the entire gamut of social institutions, nevertheless this study amply reveals that nothing human was foreign to him and that he has been true to the philosophic mission of examining life.

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1. (i) See p. 21, last line-contd. on p. 22.
   (ii) Refer to p. 183-para 2.
2. Radhakrishnan, S., *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, p.361.
3. Radhakrishnan, S., *Religion and Society*, p. 66.

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